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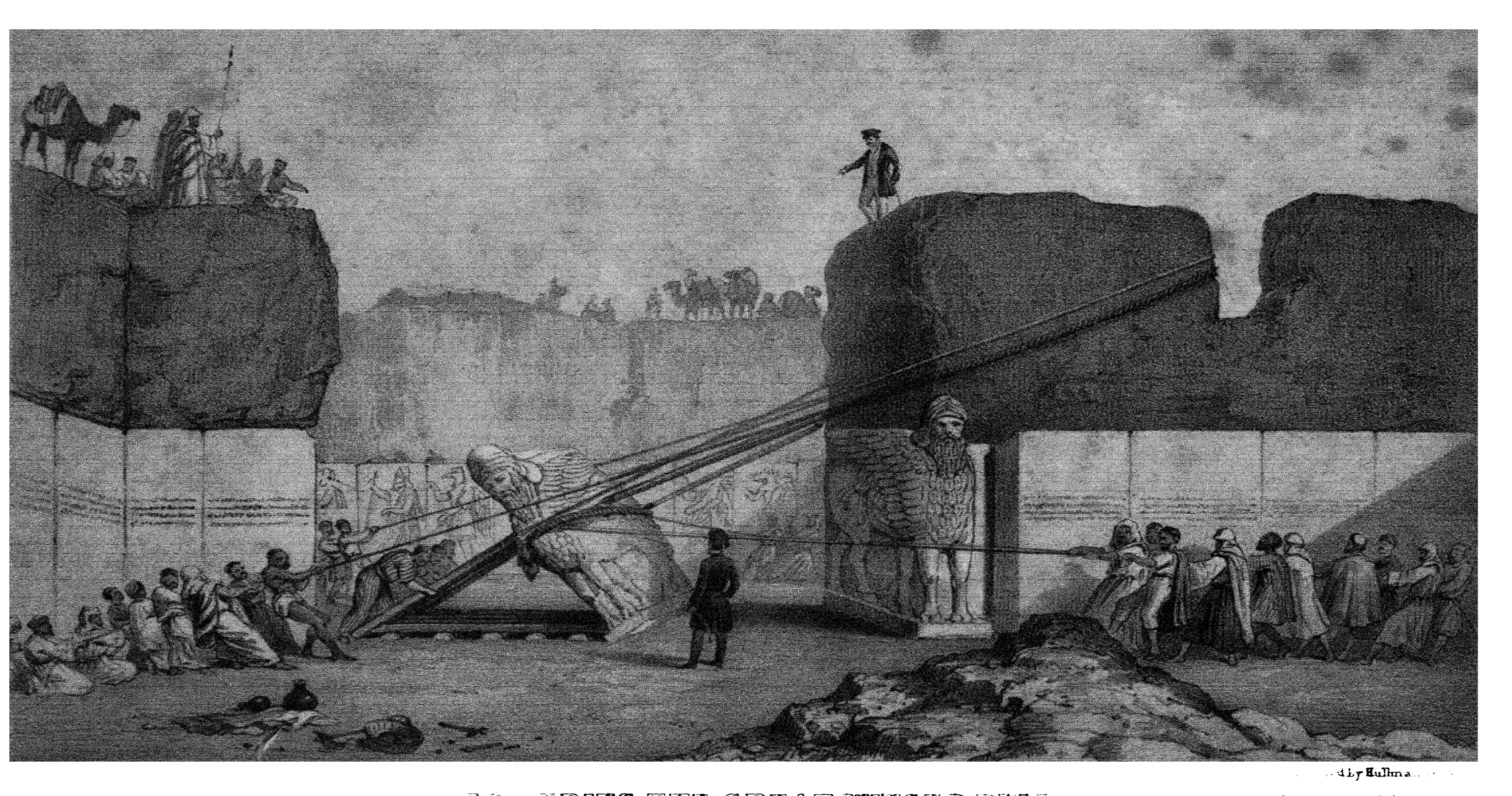
NINEVEH

AND

ITS REMAINS.

VOL. I.

London:
Spottiswoode and Shaw,
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LO ERING THE GREAT WINGED BULL.

John Murray Albemarle Street 1848.

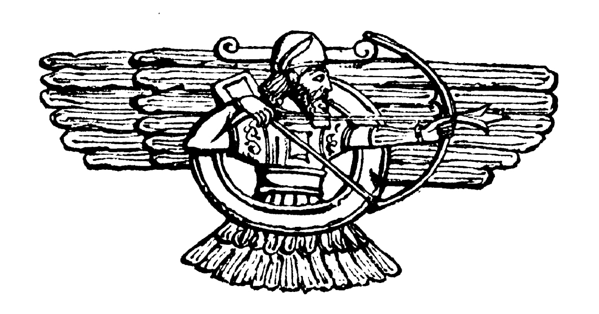
NINEVEH

AND

ITS REMAINS:

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO THE CHALDÆAN CHRISTIANS OF KURDISTAN, AND THE YEZIDIS, OR DEVIL-WORSHIPPERS; AND AN ENQUIRY INTO THE MANNERS AND ARTS OF THE ANCIENT ASSYRIANS.

BY AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD, ESQ. D.C.L.



"She saw men pourtrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion.

"Girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity."

EZEKIEL, xxiii. 14, 15.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1849.

TO

BENJAMIN AUSTEN, ESQ.

THESE VOLUMES

ARE AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

It is with considerable diffidence that I venture to submit the following narrative to the reader. The opinions of friends, and a desire on my part to communicate the little information that opportunities may have enabled me to acquire, with regard to a country and city so little known as Assyria and Nineveh, have alone induced me to undertake a work of this nature under the united disadvantages of incapacity, literary inexperience, ill-health, and a very short residence in England. When I add that I have, at the same time, been engaged in preparing for the press an illustrated work on the Monuments of Nineveh, and in superintending the publication, for the Trustees of the British Museum, of the Cuneiform inscriptions brought by me from Assyria, occupations which have demanded considerable time and

care, I may perhaps appeal with more confidence to the kind indulgence of my readers, and particularly of those who are far more competent than myself to enter into the enquiries I have ventured to add to my personal narrative.

A general dissertation, such as that contained in the second volume, requires a very extensive acquaintance with those ancient and modern authors who have written or casually touched upon similar subjects. The necessity of a residence in the country, and the consequent absence of books, have prevented me from consulting many works which might have afforded valuable information, and have rendered difficult the verification of quotations obtained, in many instances, during hurried visits to London.

With more time and opportunities at my command, this dissertation might have been rendered more entertaining and useful. I should not have added it to the narrative, had I not felt that there were many observations which could only have occurred to one engaged, like myself, in a very close examination of the ruins of Assyria, and which, right or wrong, should be recorded, if recorded at all, whilst still fresh in my memory. I may perhaps venture to hope that, although these general remarks may be of little value, they will at least afford some assistance to others who may engage in similar enquiries.

Being anxious to avoid entering upon debateable

subjects, it was originally my intention to state merely the results of my researches; but, as I proceeded with my work, I found it necessary to touch upon topics connected with Assyrian history and chronology. This was almost indispensable, in order to give the reader an idea of the extent of the discoveries and of the arguments they furnish. The opinions, however, which I have ventured to offer must be considered rather in the light of suggestions. Many things that have appeared to me to be facts may require further proof before they can be generally admitted. An examination of the ruins of Assyria still unexplored, and a fuller acquaintance with the monuments and inscriptions already discovered, are required to enable us to arrive at satisfactory results in an enquiry such as I have entered into. Still it appears to me that we have already sufficient data to warrant the attempt. These words of caution are necessary, and I trust the reader will acquit me of any wish to mislead him, or to make more of my subject than it deserves.

With regard to my personal narrative, I may owe an apology to the reader for introducing subjects not included in the title of my work, for adding narratives of my visits to the Tiyari and Yezidis, and a dissertation upon the Chaldæans of Kurdistan. I have thought that it might not be uninteresting to give such slight sketches of manners and customs,

as would convey a knowledge of the condition and history of the present inhabitants of the country, particularly of those who, there is good reason to presume, are descendants of the ancient Assyrians. They are, indeed, as much the remains of Nineveh, and Assyria, as are the rude heaps and ruined palaces. A comparison between the dwellers in the land as they now are, and as the monuments of their ancestors lead us to believe they once were, will not perhaps be without useful results. It may give rise to serious reflection, and may even prove an instructive lesson.

With regard to the style of my narrative, I must prepare the reader for such inaccuracies and defects as arise from haste and inexperience. I have preferred sketches conveying a general idea of my operations and adventures to mere dry details, and a continuous relation of incidents which might have led me into frequent repetitions.

In spelling Eastern names I have followed no uniform system — having endeavoured to write them in the best way I could, to convey the mode of their pronunciation by the people of the country. This, I am aware, is contrary to the plan now generally adopted; but I have not had time to reduce the oriental words, in various languages, to one standard.

I have introduced into these volumes as many illustrations of the sculptures and monuments as I

conveniently could. More careful and elaborate engravings of the bas-reliefs, and objects discovered will be published separately in a larger work on the Monuments of Nineveh, which may, therefore, be considered illustrative of these volumes.

It is a pleasing duty to acknowledge kindness and assistance in such labours as these, and it is with gratitude that I admit the great obligation under which I am to Mr. Birch of the British Museum, for much valuable information and many important suggestions, the source of which, when used, I have not always acknowledged. To Mr. Hawkins and the other officers of the British Museum, whom I have had occasion to consult, I also have to express my thanks for uniform kindness and courtesy. From Mr. George Scharf, jun., I have received great assistance. The plates and woodcuts have been chiefly executed, from my sketches, by him, or under his superintendence; and the reader will no doubt perceive how much my work is indebted to him. To others I would express my grateful obligations; although I am restricted from making any other allusion to the aid I have received from them.

To the Chairman and Honorable Court of Directors of the East India Company, through whose enlightened munificence I am mainly enabled to publish my drawings of the bas-reliefs discovered at Nineveh, I must take this opportunity of expressing that

gratitude which many, who have been engaged in similar undertakings, have had reason to feel as strongly as myself. In recording a liberality, unfortunately so rare, I become an additional witness to the noble support they have ever rendered to literature and science.

It is to be regretted that proper steps have not been taken for the transport to England of the sculptures discovered at Nineveh. Those which have already reached this country, and, it is to be feared, those which are now on their way, have consequently suffered unnecessary injury. The great winged bull and lion, which, I had hoped, would have speedily formed an important portion of the national collection, are still lying at Busrah; and there is little prospect, at present, of their being brought to this country. Surely British ingenuity and resources cannot, as is pretended, be unable to remove objects which have already with very inadequate means, been transported nearly a thousand miles. The cases containing the small objects, recently deposited in the British Museum, were not only opened without authority at Bombay, but their contents exhibited, without proper precautions, to the public. It is remarkable that several of the most valuable (indeed *the* most valuable) specimens are missing; and the whole collection was so carelessly repacked that it has sustained very material injury. Were these Assyrian relics, how-

ever valuable, such as could be again obtained, either by ingenuity or labour, their loss might not perhaps be so seriously lamented; but if once destroyed they can never be restored; and it must be remembered that they are almost the only remains of a great city and of a great nation.

Cheltenham,
October, 1848.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE submitting the following narrative of my labours in Assyria to the reader, it may not be uninteresting to give a slight sketch of what had been done in the field of Assyrian antiquities, previous to the recent discoveries on the site of Nineveh.

The history of Assyria had been written by Herodotus and Ctesias. Unfortunately, the work of the former, who was so scrupulous in recording facts and traditions, has been entirely lost. Not a fragment of it has been preserved by those who, it may be presumed, might have made use of it, and who quote largely from him on similar subjects. This fact has led modern critics to doubt whether Herodotus did really write an Assyrian history, although Aristotle mentions having seen it *; or whether he merely alludes to a projected undertaking. Did such a work exist, there is little doubt that we should

* Hist. Anim. l. vii. c. 18.

possess a very complete history of Assyria, as Herodotus considered the subject of sufficient interest and importance to demand a separate treatise. This design of writing a distinct account of the Assyrians has unfortunately led him to omit all mention of that nation in his great work; we might otherwise have derived much information from casual notices, similar to those which he has introduced respecting the Egyptians and other remarkable nations of antiquity. Almost the only allusion he makes to an event in Assyrian history — the sudden spread of the Assyrian power over Asia — apparently involves an assertion in direct contradiction to all that we find elsewhere recorded of the antiquity and origin of the Assyrian empire.

Of the history of Ctesias only a few fragments have been preserved, chiefly in the works of Diodorus Siculus and Photius. He was a native of Cnidus, who, either as a prisoner or a traveller, found himself at the Persian capital. Being skilled in medicine, he was taken into favour by the king, and remained seventeen years at his court, where he was treated with great distinction. During his residence in Persia he was able to consult the public archives, and he compiled from them a history of the Persians, and of their predecessors in the empire of Asia.* He also wrote an account of India and its productions; the absurd exaggerations and fables which it contains have caused all his other works

* Diod. Sicul. l. xi.

to be viewed with suspicion. He is likewise accused of being led, by extreme jealousy of Herodotus, into direct mis-statements, that he may contradict that historian. Aristotle, more than once, declares him to be unworthy of credit *; and modern critics have generally agreed to reject altogether, or to receive with great reserve, all his assertions. Yet Diodorus Siculus, and several ancient authors, appear to have followed and trusted him; and it may be observed, that whilst mere travellers' tales and vulgar traditions were probably the only sources of his Indian marvels, written records and monuments may have furnished him with well-authenticated historical facts, to assist him in compiling the history of the country in which he resided, and of which he had a personal knowledge. Unfortunately, of his history very little remains, except the names of kings. Much relating to Assyria contained in the works of others was, however, undoubtedly copied from him.

Of later writers who have touched upon Assyrian history, Diodorus Siculus, a mere compiler, is the principal. Eusebius, and the Armenian historians, such as Moses of Chorene, have preserved a few valuable details and hints; they also obtained their information from elsewhere, but in some instances from original sources not altogether devoid of authenticity. Many other authors could be cited, who have casually in their works alluded to events in Assyrian history, or have introduced brief notices

* De Generat. Animal. l. ii. c. 2., and Hist. Anim. l. viii. c. 18.

concerning the Assyrian empire; but any particular account of them, or an analysis of the information they afford, would only weary the reader.* It is remarkable, that none of the authors alluded to, do more than mention by name any of the Assyrian kings, with the exception of the three great monarchs, Ninus, Semiramis, and Sardanapalus, whom traditions have made celebrated, and whose deeds, like those of all prominent characters in an epoch before sober history commenced, have been invested with superhuman features, or have been mixed up with fables. Yet above thirty generations elapsed between Ninus and Sardanapalus, during which a whole line of kings occupied the Assyrian throne, and maintained the power of the empire. Their names have been handed down to us in genealogical series by Eusebius, the Syncellus, and others †; but the lists themselves are more than doubtful, and are generally believed to furnish sufficient evidence against their own authenticity.

With regard to Ninus and Semiramis, I need only here mention that, like all heroes of primitive history and early tradition, their names appear to have become conventional — all great deeds and national events being assigned to them. Originally historic characters, they have been to some extent invested with divine attribues, and have been mixed up with

* I may mention Berosus, Abydenus, Strabo, Nicolaus of Damascus, Castor, Polyhistor, Justin, Suidas, and the Syncellus.

† Abydenus gives a list of kings differing from those of Eusebius and the Syncellus.

the theology of the race of which they were the first monarchs. This leads to a well-known result — the hero-worship of ancient nations. Still, in admitting this fact, we must guard against rejecting traditions, simply because they are connected with these names. Many have a foundation, and were probably derived from events which actually took place. It is the province of the critical inquirer to separate the mythic, from that which comes within the legitimate bounds of history; to trace the origin of fables, and to draw rational conclusions from them.

The Assyrians are not particularly alluded to in Holy Writ, until the period when their warlike expeditions to the west of the Euphrates, brought them into contact with the Jews. The first king whose name is recorded was Pul, who reigned between eight and nine hundred years before the Christian æra; and about two hundred previous to the fall of the empire; consequently he must have been nearly the last of a long succession of kings who, it is generally admitted, had ruled over the greater part of Asia. The later monarchs are more frequently mentioned in the Bible; as their conquests over the Jews, whom they led captive into Assyria, brings them continually under notice. But except when they particularly concern the Jewish people, very little is related of the deeds of even these monarchs.

Of modern historians who have attempted to reconcile the discrepancies of Assyrian chronology, and to restore to some extent, from the fragments to which I have alluded, a history of the Assyrian

empire, I scarcely know whom to point out. From such contradictory materials, it is not surprising that each writer should have formed a system of his own; and we may, without incurring the charge of scepticism, treat all their efforts as little better than ingenious speculations. In the date alone to be assigned to the commencement of the Assyrian empire, they differ nearly a thousand years; and even when they treat of events which approach the epoch of authentic history, — such as the death of Sardanapalus, the invasion of the Medes, and the fall of the empire, — there is nearly the same comparative discrepancy. The Bactrian and Indian expeditions of Ninus, the wonderful works of Semiramis, and the effeminacy of Sardanapalus, have been described over and over again, and form the standard ingredients of the Assyrian history of modern authors. The narratives framed upon them convey useful lessons, and are, moreover, full of romantic events to excite the imagination. As such they have been repeated, with a warning that their authenticity rests upon a slender basis, and that it is doubtful whether they are to be regarded as history, or to be classed amongst fables. Although the names of Nineveh and Assyria have been familiar to us from childhood, and are connected with our earliest impressions derived from the Inspired Writings, it is only when we ask ourselves what we really know concerning them, that we discover our ignorance of all that relates to their history, and even to their geographical position.

It is indeed one of the most remarkable facts in

history, that the records of an empire, so renowned for its power and civilisation, should have been entirely lost; and that the site of a city as eminent for its extent as its splendour, should for ages have been a matter of doubt: it is not perhaps less curious that an accidental discovery should suddenly lead us to hope that these records may be recovered, and this site satisfactorily identified.

The ruins in Assyria and Babylonia, chiefly huge mounds, apparently of mere earth and rubbish, had long excited curiosity from their size and evident antiquity. They were, at the same time, the only remains of an unknown period,—of a period antecedent to the Macedonian conquest. Consequently they alone could be identified with Nineveh and Babylon, and could afford a clue to the site and nature of those cities. There is, at the same time, a vague mystery attaching to remains like these, which induces travellers to examine them with more than ordinary interest, and even with some degree of awe. A great vitrified mass of brick-work, surrounded by the accumulated rubbish of ages, was believed to represent the identical tower, which called down the divine vengeance, and was overthrown, according to an universal tradition, by the fires of heaven. The mystery and dread, which attached to the place, were kept up by exaggerated accounts of wild beasts, who haunted the subterraneous passages, and of the no less savage tribes who wandered amongst the ruins. Other mounds in the vicinity were identified with the hanging gardens, and those marvellous structures which tradition

has attributed to two queens, Semiramis and Nitocris. The difficulty of reaching the site of these remains, increased the curiosity and interest with which they were regarded; and a fragment from Babylon was esteemed a precious relic, not altogether devoid of a sacred character. The ruins which might be presumed to occupy the site of the Assyrian capital, were even less known, and less visited, than those in Babylonia. Several travellers had noticed the great mounds of earth opposite the modern city of Mosul, and when the inhabitants of the neighbourhood pointed out the tomb of Jonah upon the summit of one of them, it was, of course, natural to conclude, at once, that it marked the site of the great Nineveh.* Macdonald Kinneir, no mean antiquarian and geographer, who examined these mounds, was inclined to believe that they marked the site of a Roman camp of the time of Hadrian; and yet a very superficial knowledge of the ruins of Babylonia would have shown at once that they were of a very different period.

The first to engage in a serious examination of the ruins within the limits of ancient Assyria was Mr. Rich, many years the political Resident of the East

* It need scarcely be observed, that the tradition placing the tomb of Jonah amongst the ruins opposite Mosul, is not authenticated by any passage in the Scriptures. It is now received by Christians and Musulmans, and probably originated in the spot having been once occupied by a Christian church or convent, dedicated to the prophet. The building, which is supposed to cover the tomb, is very much venerated, and only Mohammedans are allowed to enter it. The Jews, in the time of St. Jerome, pointed out the sepulchre of Jonah at Gath-hepher, in the tribe of Zabulon.

India Company at Baghdad, — a man, whom enterprise, industry, extensive and varied learning, and rare influence over the inhabitants of the country, acquired as much by character as position, eminently qualified for such a task. The remains near Hillah, being in the immediate vicinity of Baghdad, first attracted his attention; and he commenced his labours by carefully examining the nature and extent of the site they occupied, and by opening trenches into the various mounds. The results of his examination and researches, with an able dissertation on the topography of ancient Babylon, and the position of its principal buildings, appeared at Vienna, in an oriental literary journal called the "Mines de l'Orient." This memoir was translated and published in England, and was followed by a second memoir, called forth by some remarks in the "Archæologia," by Major Rennell. The two have recently been republished in a work containing a narrative of a journey to Babylon, edited by his widow.

I need not trouble the reader with a detailed account of Mr. Rich's discoveries amongst the ruins of Babylon. They were of considerable interest, though, of course, in results far behind what accident has recently furnished. They consisted chiefly of fragments of inscriptions, bricks, engraved stones, and a coffin of wood; but the careful account which he drew up of the site of the ruins was of greater value, and has formed the ground-work of all subsequent inquiries into the topography of Babylon.

In the year 1820 Mr. Rich, having been induced to

visit Kurdistan for the benefit of his health, returned to Baghdad by way of Mosul. Remaining some days in this city, his curiosity was naturally excited by the great mounds on the opposite bank of the river, and he entered upon an examination of them. He learnt from the inhabitants of Mosul that, some time previous to his visit, a sculpture, representing various forms of men and animals, had been dug up in a mound forming part of the great enclosure. This strange object had been the cause of general wonder, and the whole population had issued from the walls to gaze upon it. The ulema having at length pronounced that these figures were the idols of the infidels, the Mohammedans, like obedient disciples, so completely destroyed them, that Mr. Rich was unable to obtain even a fragment.

His first step was to visit the village containing the tomb of Jonah, built upon the summit of one of the principal mounds. In the houses he met with a few stones bearing inscriptions, which had probably been discovered in digging the foundations; and under the mosque containing the tomb he was shown three very narrow and apparently ancient passages, one within the other, with several doors or apertures.

He next examined the largest mound of the group, called Kouyunjik by the Turks, and Armousheeah by the Arabs. He only found amongst the rubbish a few fragments of pottery, bricks with cuneiform characters, and some remains of building in the ravines. He ascertained that the circumference was 7690 feet. On a subsequent occasion he made a

careful survey of the site of all the ruins, which is published in the collection of his journals, edited by his widow.

With the exception of a small stone chair, and a few remains of inscriptions, Mr. Rich obtained no other Assyrian relics from the ruins on the site of Nineveh; and he left Mosul, little suspecting that in these mounds were buried the palaces of the Assyrian Kings. As he floated down the Tigris to Baghdad, he landed at Nimroud, and examined the great mound. He was struck by its evident antiquity, and learnt the tales of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages connecting the ruins with Nimrod's own city, and the better authenticated tradition that they were those of Al Athur, or Ashur, from which the whole country anciently received its name. He obtained a few specimens of bricks bearing cuneiform characters, and proceeded with his journey.

The fragments collected by Mr. Rich were subsequently placed in the British Museum, and formed the principal, and indeed almost only, collection of Assyrian antiquities in Europe. A case scarcely three feet square enclosed all that remained, not only of the great city, Nineveh, but of Babylon itself!

Other museums in Europe contained a few cylinders and gems, which came from Assyria and Babylonia; but they were not classified, nor could it be determined to what exact epoch they belonged. Of Assyrian art nothing was known, not even by analogy. The architecture of Nineveh and Babylon was a matter of speculation, and the poet or painter restored their

palaces and temples, as best suited his theme or his subject. A description of the temple of Belus by Herodotus, led to an imaginary representation of the tower of Babel. Its spiral ascent, its galleries gradually decreasing in circumference and supported by innumerable columns, are familiar to us from the illustrations, adorning almost the opening page of that Book, which is associated with our earliest recollections.

Such was our acquaintance four years ago with Nineveh and Assyria — their history, their site, and their arts. The reader will judge from the following pages, how far recent discoveries are likely to extend our knowledge.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. III.

CHAP. IV.

CHAP. V.

CHAP. VI.

CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VIII.

CHAP. IX.

CHAP. X.

LIST OF PLATES, WOODCUTS, AND PLANS.

VOLUME I.

NINEVEH

AND

ITS REMAINS.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST JOURNEY IN ASSYRIA.—ITS RUINS.—KOUYUNJIK, NIMROUD, AND KALAH SHERGHAT.—M. BOTTA'S DISCOVERIES.—KHORSABAD.—RETURN TO MOSUL.

DURING the autumn of 1839 and winter of 1840, I had been wandering through Asia Minor and Syria, scarcely leaving untrod one spot hallowed by tradition, or unvisited one ruin consecrated by history. I was accompanied by one no less curious and enthusiastic than myself. We were both equally careless of comfort and unmindful of danger. We rode alone; our arms were our only protection; a valise behind our saddles was our wardrobe, and we tended our own horses, except when relieved from the duty by the hospitable inhabitants of a Turcoman village or an Arab tent. Thus unembarrassed by needless luxuries, and uninfluenced by the opinions and prejudices of others, we mixed amongst the people, acquired

without effort their manners, and enjoyed without alloy those emotions which scenes so novel, and spots so rich in varied association, cannot fail to produce.

I look back with feelings of grateful delight to those happy days when, free and unheeded, we left at dawn the humble cottage or cheerful tent, and lingering as we listed, unconscious of distance and of the hour, found ourselves, as the sun went down, under some hoary ruin tenanted by the wandering Arab, or in some crumbling village still bearing a well-known name. No experienced dragoman measured our distances and appointed our stations. We were honoured with no conversations by pashas, nor did we seek any civilities from governors. We neither drew tears nor curses from villagers by seizing their horses, or searching their houses for provisions: their welcome was sincere; their scanty fare was placed before us; we ate, and came and went in peace.

I had traversed Asia Minor and Syria, visiting the ancient seats of civilisation, and the spots which religion has made holy. I now felt an irresistible desire to penetrate to the regions beyond the Euphrates, to which history and tradition point as the birthplace of the wisdom of the West. Most travellers, after a journey through the usually frequented parts of the East, have the same longing to cross the great river, and to explore those lands which are separated on the map from the confines of Syria by a vast blank stretching from Aleppo to the banks of the Tigris. A deep mystery hangs over Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa. With these names are

linked great nations and great cities dimly shadowed forth in history; mighty ruins, in the midst of deserts, defying, by their very desolation and lack of definite form, the description of the traveller; the remnants of mighty races still roving over the land; the fulfilling and fulfilment of prophecies; the plains to which the Jew and the Gentile alike look as the cradle of their race. After a journey in Syria the thoughts naturally turn eastward; and without treading on the remains of Nineveh and Babylon our pilgrimage is incomplete.

I left Aleppo, with my companion, on the 18th of March. We still travelled as we had been accustomed; without guide or servants. The road across the desert is at all times impracticable, except to a numerous and well-armed caravan, and offers no object of interest. We preferred that through Bir and Orfa. From the latter city we traversed the low country at the foot of the Kurdish hills, a country little known, and abounding in curious remains. The Egyptian frontier, at that time, extended to the east of Orfa, and the war between the Sultan and Mohammed Ali Pasha being still unfinished, the tribes took advantage of the confusion, and were plundering on all sides. With our usual good fortune, we succeeded in reaching Nisibin unmolested, although we ran daily risks, and more than once found ourselves in the midst of foraging parties, and of tents which, an hour before, had been pillaged by the wandering bands of Arabs. We entered Mosul on the 10th of April.

During a short stay in this town we visited the

great ruins on the east bank of the river, which have been generally believed to be the remains of Nineveh.* We rode also into the desert, and explored the mound of Kalah Sherghat, a vast ruin on the Tigris, about fifty miles below its junction with the Zab. As we journeyed thither we rested for the night at the small Arab village of Hammum Ali, around which are still the vestiges of an ancient city. From the summit of an artificial eminence we looked down upon a broad plain, separated from us by the river. A line of lofty mounds bounded it to the east, and one of a pyramidical form rose high above the rest. Beyond it could be faintly traced the waters of the Zab. Its position rendered its identification easy. This was the pyramid which Xenophon had described, and near which the ten thousand had encamped: the ruins around it were those which the Greek general saw twenty-two centuries before, and which were even then the remains of an *ancient* city. Although Xenophon had confounded a name, spoken by a strange race, with one familiar to a Greek ear, and had called the place Larissa, tradition still points to the origin of the city, and, by attributing its foundation to Nimrod, whose name the ruins now bear, connect it with one of the first settlements of the human race.†

* These ruins include the great mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunus.

† "He (Nimrod) went out into Assyria and builded Nineveh, the city Rehoboth and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city." (Gen. x. 11, 12.) The ruins of Nimroud had been identified with Resen, of which Larissa was believed, first, by Bochart, to be a corruption, arising from the (presumed) use, by the inhabitants of the country, of the common Shemitic article "al" before the word.

Kalah Sherghat, no less than Nimroud, was an Assyrian ruin: a vast, shapeless mass, now covered with grass, and showing scarcely any traces of the work of man except where the winter rains had formed ravines down its almost perpendicular sides, and had thus laid open its contents. A few fragments of pottery and inscribed bricks, discovered after a careful search amongst the rubbish which had accumulated around the base of the great mound, served to prove that it owed its construction to the people who had founded the city of which Nimroud is the remains. There was a tradition current amongst the Arabs, that strange figures carved in black stone still existed amongst the ruins; but we searched for them in vain, during the greater part of a day in which we were engaged in exploring the heaps of earth and bricks, covering a considerable extent of country on the right bank of the Tigris.* At the time of our visit the country had been deserted by the Arab tribes, and was only occasionally visited by bands of plunderers from the Shammar or Aneyza tents. We passed the night in the jungle which shuts in the river, and wandered during the day undisturbed by the tribes of the desert. A Cawass, who had been sent with us by the

It may be observed, in the first place, that the philological grounds are inadequate; and, in the second, that if this were Resen, no room would be left for the site of Nineveh, a still greater city.

* A memoir on our visit to these ruins by Mr. Ainsworth will be found in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xi. I shall give a fuller account of the place when I describe the excavations and discoveries which I subsequently made there.

pasha of Mosul, alarmed at the solitude, and dreading the hostile Arabs, left us in the wilderness, and turned homewards. But he fell into the danger he sought to avoid. Less fortunate than ourselves, at a short distance from Kalah Sherghat, he was met by a party of horsemen, and fell a victim to his timidity.

Were the traveller to cross the Euphrates to seek for such ruins in Mesopotamia and Chaldæa as he had left behind him in Asia Minor or Syria, his search would be vain. The graceful column rising above the thick foliage of the myrtle, the ilex, and the oleander; the gradines of the amphitheatre covering the gentle slope, and overlooking the dark blue waters of a lake-like bay; the richly carved cornice or capital half hidden by the luxuriant herbage; are replaced by the stern shapeless mound rising like a hill from the scorched plain, the fragments of pottery, and the stupendous mass of brickwork occasionally laid bare by the winter rains. He has left the land where nature is still lovely, where, in his mind's eye, he can rebuild the temple or the theatre, half doubting whether they would have made a more grateful impression upon the senses than the ruin before him. He is now at a loss to give any form to the rude heaps upon which he is gazing. Those of whose works they are the remains, unlike the Roman and the Greek, have left no visible traces of their civilisation, or of their arts: their influence has long since passed away. The more he conjectures, the more vague the results appear. The scene around is worthy of the ruin he is contemplating; desolation meets desola-

tion: a feeling of awe succeeds to wonder; for there is nothing to relieve the mind, to lead to hope, or to tell of what has gone by. These huge mounds of Assyria made a deeper impression upon me, gave rise to more serious thought and more earnest reflection, than the temples of Balbec or the theatres of Ionia.

In the middle of April I left Mosul for Baghdad. As I descended the Tigris on a raft, I again saw the ruins of Nimroud, and had a better opportunity of examining them. It was evening as we approached the spot. The spring rains had clothed the mound with the richest verdure, and the fertile meadows, which stretched around it, were covered with flowers of every hue. Amidst this luxuriant vegetation were partly concealed a few fragments of bricks, pottery, and alabaster, upon which might be traced the well-defined wedges of the cuneiform character. Did not these remains mark the nature of the ruin, it might have been confounded with a natural eminence. A long line of consecutive narrow mounds, still retaining the appearance of walls or ramparts, stretched from its base, and formed a vast quadrangle. The river flowed at some distance from them: its waters, swollen by the melting of the snows on the Armenian hills, were broken into a thousand foaming whirlpools by an artificial barrier, built across the stream. On the eastern bank the soil had been washed away by the current; but a solid mass of masonry still withstood its impetuosity. The Arab, who guided my small raft, gave himself up to religious ejaculations as we approached this formidable cataract, over which

we were carried with some violence. Once safely through the danger, my companion explained to me that this unusual change in the quiet face of the river was caused by a great dam which had been built by Nimrod *, and that in the autumn, before the winter rains, the huge stones of which it was constructed, squared, and united by cramps of iron, were frequently visible above the surface of the stream.† It was, in fact, one of those monuments of a great people, to be found in all the rivers of Mesopotamia, which were undertaken to ensure a constant supply of water to the innumerable canals, spreading like net-work over the surrounding country, and which, even in the days of Alexander, were looked upon as the works of an ancient nation.‡ No wonder that the traditions of the present inhabitants of the land should assign them to one of the founders of the human race! The Arab was telling me of the connection between the dam and the city built by Athur, the lieutenant of Nimrod, the vast ruins of which were now before

* This dam is called by the Arabs, either Sukr el Nimroud, from the tradition, or El Awayee, from the noise caused by the breaking of the water over the stones. Large rafts are obliged to unload before crossing it, and accidents frequently happen to those who neglect this precaution.

† Diodorus Siculus, it will be remembered, states that the stones of the bridge built by Semiramis across the Euphrates were united by similar iron cramps, whilst the interstices were filled up with molten lead.

‡ These dams greatly impeded the fleets of the conqueror in their navigation of the rivers of Susiana and Mesopotamia, and he caused many of them to be removed. (Strabo, p. 1051. ed. Ox. 1807.) By Strabo they were believed to have been constructed to prevent the ascent of the rivers by hostile fleets; but their use is evident. Tavernier mentions, in his Travels (vol. i. p. 226.), this very dam. He says that his raft went over a cascade twenty-six feet high; but he must have greatly exaggerated.

us — of its purpose as a causeway for the mighty hunter to cross to the opposite palace, now represented by the mound of Hammum Ali — and of the histories and fate of the kings of a primitive race, still the favourite theme of the inhabitants of the plains of Shinar, when the last glow of twilight faded away, and I fell asleep as we glided onward to Baghdad.

My curiosity had been greatly excited, and from that time I formed the design of thoroughly examining, whenever it might be in my power, these singular ruins.

It was not until the summer of 1842 that I again passed through Mosul on my way to Constantinople. I was then anxious to reach the Turkish capital, and, travelling Tatar, had no time to explore ruins. I had not, however, forgotten Nimroud. I had frequently spoken to others on the subject of excavations in this and another mound, to which a peculiar interest also attached; and at one time had reason to hope that some persons in England might have been induced to aid in the undertaking. I had even proposed an examination of the mound to M. Coste, an architect who had been sent by the French Government, with its embassy to Persia, to draw and describe the monuments of that country.

On my arrival at Mosul, I found that M. Botta had, since my first visit, been named French Consul there; and had already commenced excavations in the large mound on the opposite side of the river, called in the country Kouyunjik. These excavations

were on a very small scale, and, at the time of my passage, only fragments of brick and alabaster, upon which were engraved a few letters in the cuneiform character, had been discovered.

Whilst detained by unexpected circumstances at Constantinople, I entered into correspondence with a gentleman in England on the subject of excavations; but, with this exception, no one seemed inclined to assist or take any interest in such an undertaking. I also wrote to M. Botta, encouraging him to proceed, notwithstanding the apparent paucity of results, and particularly calling his attention to the mound of Nimroud, which, however, he declined to explore on account of its distance from Mosul and its inconvenient position. I was soon called away from the Turkish capital to the provinces; and for some months numerous occupations prevented me turning my attention to the ruins and antiquities of Assyria.

In the meanwhile M. Botta, not discouraged by the want of success which had attended his first essay, continued his excavations in the mound of Kouyunjik; and to him is due the honour of having found the first Assyrian monument. This remarkable discovery owed its origin to the following circumstances. The small party employed by M. Botta were at work on Kouyunjik, when a peasant from a distant village chanced to visit the spot. Seeing that any fragments of brick and alabaster uncovered by the workmen were carefully preserved, he asked the reason of this, to him, strange proceeding. On being informed that they were in search of sculp-

tured stones, he advised them to try the mound on which his village was built, and in which, he declared, many such things as they wanted had been exposed on digging for the foundations of new houses. M. Botta, having been frequently deceived by similar stories, was not at first inclined to follow the peasant's advice, but subsequently sent an agent and one or two workmen to the place. After a little opposition from the inhabitants, they were permitted to sink a well in the mound; and at a small distance from the surface they came to the top of a wall which, on digging deeper, they found to be constructed of sculptured slabs of gypsum. M. Botta, on receiving information of this discovery, went at once to the village, which was called Khorsabad.* He directed a wider trench to be formed, and to be carried in the direction of the wall. He soon found that he had opened a chamber, which was connected with others, and constructed of slabs of gypsum covered with sculptured representations of battles, sieges, and similar events. His wonder may easily be imagined. A new history had been suddenly opened to him — the records of an unknown people were before him. He was equally at a loss to account for the age and the nature of the monument. The art shown in the sculptures; the dresses of the figures; their arms and the objects which accompanied them; were all new to him, and afforded no clue to the epoch of the

* This word is probably an abbreviation of Khosrau-abad, the abode of Khosroes. From their vicinity to the Kurdish mountains, many of the villages in this part of Assyria have Persian names.

erection of the edifice, and to the people who were its founders. Numerous inscriptions were cut between the bas-reliefs, and evidently contained the explanation of the events thus recorded in sculpture. They were in the cuneiform, or arrow-headed, character. The nature of these inscriptions afforded at least evidence that the building was of a period preceding the conquest of Alexander; for it was generally admitted that after the subjugation of the west of Asia by the Macedonians, the cuneiform writing ceased to be employed. But too little was then known of this character to enable M. Botta to draw any inference from the peculiar arrangement of the wedges, which distinguishes the varieties used in different countries. However, it was evident that the monument appertained to a very ancient and very civilised people; and it was natural from its position to refer it to the inhabitants of Nineveh, a city, which, although it could not have occupied a site so distant from the Tigris, must have been in the vicinity of the place. M. Botta had discovered an Assyrian edifice, the first, probably, which had been exposed to the view of man since the fall of the Assyrian empire.

M. Botta was not long in perceiving that the building, which had been thus partly excavated, unfortunately owed its destruction to fire; and that the gypsum slabs, reduced to lime, were rapidly falling to pieces on exposure to the air. No precaution could arrest this rapid decay; and it was to be feared that this wonderful monument had only been uncovered to

complete its ruin. The records of victories and triumphs, which had long attested the power and swelled the pride of the Assyrian kings, and had resisted the ravages of ages, were now passing away for ever. They could scarcely be held together until an inexperienced pencil could secure an imperfect evidence of their former existence. Almost all that was first discovered thus speedily disappeared; and the same fate has befallen nearly every thing subsequently found at Khorsabad. A regret is almost felt that so precious a memorial of a great nation should have been thus exposed to destruction, when no precaution could keep entire or secure the greater part of it; but as far as the object of the monument is concerned, the intention of its founders will be amply fulfilled, and the records of their might will be more widely spread, and more effectually preserved, by modern art, than the most exalted ambition could have contemplated.

M. Botta lost no time in communicating his remarkable discovery to the principal scientific body in France. Knowing the interest I felt in his labours, he allowed me to see his letters and drawings as they passed through Constantinople; and I was amongst the first who were made acquainted with his success. And here I gladly avail myself of the opportunity of mentioning, with the acknowledgment and praise they deserve, his disinterestedness and liberality, so honourable to one engaged in the pursuit of knowledge. During the entire period of his excavations, M. Botta regularly sent me not only his descriptions,

but copies of the inscriptions, without exacting any promise as to the use I might make of them. That there are few who would have acted thus liberally, those who have been engaged in a search after antiquities in the East will not be inclined to deny.

M. Botta's communications were laid before the "Académie" by M. Mohl; and that body, perceiving at once the importance of the discovery, lost no time in applying to the Minister of Public Instruction for means to carry on the researches. The recommendation was attended to with that readiness and munificence which almost invariably distinguished the French Government in undertakings of this nature. Ample funds to meet the cost of extensive excavations were at once assigned to M. Botta, and an artist of acknowledged skill was placed under his orders to draw such parts of the monument discovered as could not be preserved or removed.

With the exception of a few interruptions on the part of the local authorities, who were suspicious of the objects of the excavations, the work was carried on with activity and success, and by the beginning of 1845 the monument had been completely uncovered. The researches of M. Botta were not extended beyond Khorsabad; and, having secured many fine specimens of Assyrian sculpture for his country, he returned to Europe with a rich collection of inscriptions, the most important result of his discovery.

I have thus placed before the reader, as briefly as possible, the history of the first discoveries in Assyria.

M. Botta's labours may have merited a fuller description and more ample notice; but as the works carried on at Khorsabad were in most respects identical in their character with those which I afterwards undertook, I have, to avoid repetition, merely given this short sketch of his labours. Their results are now being published in France, and his countrymen have not been backward in recognising the extent and importance of his discovery, and in rewarding the zeal, discrimination, and personal sacrifices which led to it.

The advantages which I had derived from a perusal of M. Botta's letters, and an inspection of his drawings, enabled me to call public attention, at an early period, to his discovery, and to be amongst the first to hazard an opinion on the age and origin of his remarkable monument. I endeavoured to show, in three letters to the "Malta Times," the general grounds upon which such an opinion could be formed. Not having had an opportunity of examining similar Assyrian remains, and my knowledge of M. Botta's discoveries being incomplete, I was led into one or two errors; but in most respects the view taken in those letters is the one which is now generally adopted.* It will be

* Misled by a passage in one of M. Botta's letters, I had supposed that two varieties of the cuneiform character had been found at Khorsabad, and had founded an argument upon this presumed fact. M. Botta, himself, perceiving that inscriptions had been cut on the back of the slabs, was, at first, led to believe that they had been taken from some more ancient edifice. The absence of the symbol which I had inadvertently called the "*Ferouher*" ultimately proved no argument; for it was discovered at Nimroud, together with many other religious emblems, which show that the Zoroastrian system was mainly derived from Assyria. I

shown hereafter on what evidence we may still connect the edifice uncovered at Khorsabad with the second dynasty of Assyrian kings, or with one of those monarchs, Essaraddon or Sennacherib, who extended his conquests over the greater part of Asia.

The success of M. Botta had increased my anxiety to explore the ruins of Assyria. It was evident that Khorsabad could not stand alone. It did not represent ancient Nineveh, nor did it afford us any additional evidence of the site of that city. If the edifice discovered had been one of its palaces, surely other buildings of a vaster and more magnificent character must exist nearer the seat of government, on the banks of the river Tigris. It was true that M. Botta had laboured unsuccessfully for above three months in the great mound opposite Mosul, which was usually identified with the Assyrian capital; but that mound much exceeded any other known in extent; and it was possible that in some parts of it the traces of the buildings which it once contained were as completely lost as they were in many parts of the mound of Khorsabad. My thoughts still went back to the ruin of Nimroud, and to the traditions which attached to it. I spoke to others, but received little encouragement. At last, in the autumn of 1845, Sir Stratford Canning mentioned to me his readiness to incur, for a limited period, the expenses of excavations in

make these observations, as a reviewer in the Quarterly (No. 158.) has been led into error by my observations. The letters in the Malta Times were reprinted in many of the English and Continental periodicals.

Assyria, in the hope that, should success attend the attempt, means would be found to carry it out on an adequate scale. I received with joy the offer of commencing and carrying on these excavations. The means were now at my disposal to prosecute a work which I had so long desired to undertake. The reader will not, I trust, be disinclined to join with me in feelings of gratitude towards one who, whilst he has maintained so successfully the honour and interests of England by his high character and eminent abilities, has acquired for his country so many great monuments of ancient civilisation and art.* It is to Sir Stratford Canning we are mainly indebted for the collection of Assyrian antiquities with which the British Museum will be enriched; without his liberality and public spirit the treasures of Nimroud would have been reserved for the enterprise of those who have appreciated the value and importance of the discoveries at Khorsabad.

The enlightened and liberal spirit shown by M. Botta is unfortunately not generally shared. It was,

* I need scarcely remind the reader that it is to Sir S. Canning we owe the marbles of Halicarnassus now in the British Museum. The difficulties which stood in the way of the acquisition of those invaluable relics, and the skill which was required to obtain them, are not generally known. I can testify to the efforts and labour which were necessary for nearly three years before the repugnance of the Ottoman government could be overcome, and permission obtained to extract the sculptures from the walls of a castle, which was more jealously guarded than any similar edifice in the empire. Their removal, notwithstanding the almost insurmountable difficulties raised by the authorities and inhabitants of Budroon, was most successfully effected by Mr. Alison. The Elgin marbles, and all other remains from Turkey or Greece now in Europe, were obtained with comparative ease.

consequently, deemed most prudent and most conducive to the success of the undertaking, that I should leave Constantinople without acquainting any one with the object of my journey. I was only furnished with the usual documents given to travellers when recommended by the Embassy, and with strong letters of introduction to the authorities at Mosul and in the neighbourhood. My preparations were soon completed, and I started from Constantinople by steamer to Samsoun in the middle of October.

I need scarcely trouble the reader with the details of my progress through a country so well known and so often written about, as that between Samsoun and Mosul. Anxious to reach the end of my journey, I crossed the mountains of Pontus and the great steppes of the Usun Yilak as fast as post-horses could carry me, descended the high lands into the valley of the Tigris, galloped over the vast plains of Assyria, and reached Mosul in twelve days.

CHAP. II.

MOHAMMED PASHA — HIS CRUELTIES. — THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY. — START FOR NIMROUD. — AN ARAB FAMILY. — STORY OF ABRAHAM AND NIMROD. — COMMENCE EXCAVATIONS. — DISCOVERY OF A CHAMBER — OF INSCRIPTIONS — OF IVORY ORNAMENTS. — RETURN TO MOSUL. — CONDUCT OF THE PASHA. — EXCAVATIONS COMMENCED AMONGST VARIOUS RUINS. — RETURN TO NIMROUD. — FURTHER DISCOVERIES. — SELAMIYAH. — DISCOVERY OF SCULPTURES. — DESCRIPTION OF BAS-RELIEFS. — INTERRUPTED BY THE PASHA. — FURTHER DISCOVERY OF SCULPTURES. — DEPOSITION OF THE PASHA. — DEPARTURE FOR BAGHDAD.

MY first step on reaching Mosul was to present my letters to the governor of the province. Mohammed Pasha, being a native of Candia, was usually known as Keritli Oglu (the son of the Cretan), to distinguish him from his celebrated predecessor of the same name, who was called, during his lifetime, "Injeh Bairakdar," or the Little Standard-bearer, from the rank he had once held in the irregular cavalry. The appearance of his Excellency was not prepossessing, but it matched his temper and conduct. Nature had placed hypocrisy beyond his reach. He had one eye and one ear; he was short and fat, deeply marked by the small-pox, uncouth in gestures and harsh in voice. His fame had reached the seat of his government before him. On the road he had revived many good old customs and impositions, which the reforming spirit of the age had suffered to fall into decay. He

particularly insisted on *dish-parassi;* * or a compensation in money, levied upon all villages in which a man of such rank is entertained, for the wear and tear of his teeth in masticating the food he condescends to receive from the inhabitants. On entering Mosul, he had induced several of the principal Aghas who had fled from the town on his approach, to return to their homes; and having made a formal display of oaths and protestations, cut their throats to show how much his word could be depended upon. At the time of my arrival, the population was in a state of terror and despair. Even the appearance of a casual traveller led to hopes, and reports were whispered about the town of the deposition of the tyrant. Of this the Pasha was aware, and hit upon a plan to test the feelings of the people towards him. He was suddenly taken ill one afternoon, and was carried to his harem almost lifeless. On the following morning the palace was closed, and the attendants answered inquiries by mysterious motions, which could only be interpreted in one fashion. The doubts of the Mosuleeans gradually gave way to general rejoicings; but at mid-day his Excellency, who had posted his spies all over the town, appeared in perfect health in the market-place. A general trembling seized the inhabitants. His vengeance fell principally upon those who possessed property, and had hitherto escaped his rapacity. They were seized and stripped, on the plea that they had spread reports detrimental to his authority.

* Literally, "tooth-money."

The villages, and the Arab tribes, had not suffered less than the townspeople. The Pasha was accustomed to give instructions to those who were sent to collect money, in three words — "Go, destroy, eat;"* and his agents were not generally backward in entering into the spirit of them. The tribes, who had been attacked and plundered, were retaliating upon caravans and travellers, or laying waste the cultivated parts of the Pashalic. The villages were deserted, and the roads were little frequented and very insecure.

Such was the Pasha to whom I was introduced two days after my arrival by the British Vice-Consul, Mr. Rassam. He read the letters which I presented to him, and received me with that civility which a traveller generally expects from a Turkish functionary of high rank. His anxiety to know the object of my journey was evident, but his curiosity was not gratified for the moment.

There were many reasons which rendered it necessary that my plans should be concealed, until I was ready to put them into execution. Although I had always experienced from M. Botta the most friendly assistance, there were others who did not share his sentiments; from the authorities and the people of the town I could only expect the most decided opposition. On the 8th of November, having secretly procured a few tools, and engaged a mason at the moment of my departure, and carrying with me a

* To eat money, *i. e.* to get money unlawfully or by pillage, is a common expression in the East.

variety of guns, spears, and other formidable weapons, I declared that I was going to hunt wild boars in a neighbouring village, and floated down the Tigris on a small raft constructed for my journey. I was accompanied by Mr. Ross, a British merchant of Mosul*, my Cawass, and a servant.

At this time of the year more than five hours are required to descend the Tigris, from Mosul to Nimroud. It was sunset before we reached the Awai, or dam across the river. We landed and walked to the village of Naifa. No light appeared as we approached, nor were we even saluted by the dogs, which usually abound in an Arab village. We had entered a heap of ruins. I was about to return to the raft, upon which we had made up our minds to pass the night, when the glare of a fire lighted up the entrance to a miserable hovel. Through a crevice in the wall, I saw an Arab family crouching round a heap of half-extinguished embers. The dress of the man, the ample cloak and white turban, showed that he belonged to one of the Arab tribes, which cultivate a little land on the borders of the desert, and are distinguished, by their more settled habits, from the Bedouins. Near him were three women, lean and haggard, their heads almost concealed in black handkerchiefs, and the rest of their persons enveloped in

* Mr. Ross will perhaps permit me to acknowledge in a note, the valuable assistance I received from him, during my labours in Assyria. His knowledge of the natives, and intimate acquaintance with the resources of the country, enabled him to contribute much to the success of my undertaking; whilst to his friendship I am indebted for many pleasant hours, which would have been passed wearily in a land of strangers.

the striped aba. Some children, nearly naked, and one or two mangy greyhounds completed the group. As we entered all the party rose, and showed some alarm at this sudden appearance of strangers. The man, however, seeing that we were Europeans, bid us welcome, and spreading some corn-sacks on the ground, invited us to be seated. The women and children retreated into a corner of the hut. Our host, whose name was Awad or Abd-Allah, was a sheikh of the Jehesh. His tribe had been plundered by the Pasha, and was now scattered in different parts of the country; he had taken refuge in this ruined village. He told us that owing to the extortions and perfidy of Keritli Oglu, the villages in the neighbourhood had been deserted, and that the Arab tribe of Abou Salman had moved from the plain of Nimroud, which they usually inhabited, to the south of the Zab, and had joined with the Tai in their marauding excursions into the country on this side of the river. The neighbourhood, he said, was consequently insecure, and the roads to Mosul almost closed. Awad had learnt a little Turkish, and was intelligent and active. Seeing, at once, that he would be useful, I acquainted him with the object of my journey; offering him the prospect of regular employment in the event of the experiment proving successful, and assigning him regular wages as superintendent of the workmen. He had long been acquainted with the ruins, and entertained me with traditions connected with them. "The palace," said he, "was built by Athur, the kiayah, or lieutenant of

Nimrod. Here the holy Abraham, peace be with him! cast down and brake in pieces the idols which were worshipped by the unbelievers. The impious Nimrod, enraged at the destruction of his gods, sought to slay Abraham, and waged war against him. But the prophet prayed to God, and said, 'Deliver me, O God, from this man, who worships stones, and boasts himself to be the lord of all beings,' and God said to him, 'How shall I punish him?' And the prophet answered, 'To Thee armies are as nothing, and the strength and power of men likewise. Before the smallest of thy creatures will they perish.' And God was pleased at the faith of the prophet, and he sent a gnat, which vexed Nimrod night and day, so that he built himself a room of glass in yonder palace, that he might dwell therein, and shut out the insect. But the gnat entered also, and passed by his ear into his brain, upon which it fed, and increased in size day by day, so that the servants of Nimrod beat his head with a hammer continually, that he might have some ease from his pain; but he died after suffering these torments for four hundred years." *

Such are the tales to this day repeated by the

* This and similar traditions are found in a work called Kusset el Nimroud, (Stories of Nimrod,) which Rich represents the inhabitants of the villages near the ruins, as reading during the winter nights. Although there is no one in these days within some miles of the place who possesses the work, or could read it if he did, the tales it contains are current amongst the Arabs of the neighbourhood. I heard of several MSS. of the Kusset at Mosul; but as they are classed amongst religious volumes, I was unable to procure a copy. (See note in chap. xxi. of Sale's Koran, for a story somewhat similar to that in the text.)

Arabs who wander round the remains of a great city; which, by their traditions, they unwittingly help to identify.

Awad volunteered to walk, in the middle of the night, to Selamiyah, a village three miles distant, and to some Arab tents in the neighbourhood, to procure men to assist in the excavations.

I had slept little during the night. The hovel in which we had taken shelter, and its inmates, did not invite slumber; but such scenes and companions were not new to me: they could have been forgotten, had my brain been less excited. Hopes, long cherished, were now to be realised, or were to end in disappointment. Visions of palaces underground, of gigantic monsters, of sculptured figures, and endless inscriptions, floated before me. After forming plan after plan for removing the earth, and extricating these treasures, I fancied myself wandering in a maze of chambers from which I could find no outlet. Then again, all was reburied, and I was standing on the grass-covered mound. Exhausted, I was at length sinking into sleep, when hearing the voice of Awad, I rose from my carpet, and joined him outside the hovel. The day already dawned; he had returned with six Arabs, who agreed for a small sum to work under my direction.

The lofty cone and broad mound of Nimroud broke like a distant mountain on the morning sky. But how changed was the scene since my former visit! The ruins were no longer clothed with verdure and many-coloured flowers; no signs of habi-

tation, not even the black tent of the Arab, was seen upon the plain. The eye wandered over a parched and barren waste, across which occasionally swept the whirlwind dragging with it a cloud of sand. About a mile from us was the small village of Nimroud, like Naifa, a heap of ruins.

Twenty minutes' walk brought us to the principal mound. The absence of all vegetation enabled me to examine the remains with which it was covered. Broken pottery and fragments of bricks, both inscribed with the cuneiform character, were strewed on all sides. The Arabs watched my motions as I wandered to and fro, and observed with surprise the objects I had collected. They joined, however, in the search, and brought me handfuls of rubbish, amongst which I found with joy the fragment of a bas-relief. The material on which it was carved had been exposed to fire, and resembled, in every respect, the burnt gypsum of Khorsabad. Convinced from this discovery that sculptured remains must still exist in some part of the mound, I sought for a place where excavations might be commenced with a prospect of success. Awad led me to a piece of alabaster which appeared above the soil. We could not remove it, and on digging downward, it proved to be the upper part of a large slab. I ordered all the men to work around it, and they shortly uncovered a second slab to which it had been united. Continuing in the same line, we came upon a third; and, in the course of the morning, laid bare ten more, the whole forming a square, with one stone missing at the N.W.

corner. It was evident that the top of a chamber had been discovered, and that the gap was its entrance.* I now dug down the face of the stones, and an inscription in the cuneiform character was soon exposed to view. Similar inscriptions occupied the centre of all the slabs, which were in the best preservation; but plain, with the exception of the writing. Leaving half the workmen to uncover as much of the chamber as possible, I led the rest to the S. W. corner of the mound, where I had observed many fragments of calcined alabaster.

I dug at once into the side of the mound, which was here very steep, and thus avoided the necessity of removing much earth. We came almost immediately to a wall †, bearing inscriptions in the same character as those already described; but the slabs had evidently been exposed to intense heat, were cracked in every part, and, reduced to lime, threatened to fall to pieces as soon as uncovered.

Night interrupted our labours. I returned to the village well satisfied with their result. It was now evident that buildings of considerable extent existed in the mound; and that although some had been destroyed by fire, others had escaped the conflagration. As there were inscriptions, and as the fragment of a bas-relief had been found, it was natural to conclude that sculptures were still buried under the soil. I determined to follow the search at the N.W. corner,

* This was the chamber marked A on the plan.

† Back of wall *j*, plan 2.

and to empty the chamber partly uncovered during the day.

On returning to the village, I removed from the crowded hovel in which we had passed the night. With the assistance of Awad, who was no less pleased than myself with our success, we patched up with mud the least ruined house in the village, and restored its falling roof. We contrived at least to exclude, in some measure, the cold night winds; and to obtain a little privacy for my companion and myself.

Next morning my workmen were increased by five Turcomans from Selamiyah, who had been attracted by the prospect of regular wages. I employed half of them in emptying the chamber partly uncovered on the previous day, and the rest in following the wall at the S.W. corner of the mound. Before evening, the work of the first was completed, and I found myself in a room built of slabs about eight feet high, and varying from six to four feet in breadth, placed upright and closely fitted together. One of the slabs had fallen backwards from its place; and was supported, in a slanting position, by the soil behind. Upon it was rudely inscribed, in Arabic characters, the name of Ahmed Pasha, one of the former hereditary governors of Mosul. A native of Selamiyah remembered that some Christians were employed to dig into the mound about thirty years before, in search of stone for the repair of the tomb of Sultan Abd-Allah, a Mussulman Saint, buried on the left bank of the Tigris, a few

miles below its junction with the Zab. They uncovered this slab; but being unable to move it, they cut upon it the name of their employer, the Pasha. My informant further stated that, in another part of the mound, he had forgotten the precise spot, they had found sculptured figures, which they broke in pieces, the fragments being used in the reparation of the tomb.

The bottom of the chamber was paved with smaller slabs than those employed in the construction of the walls. They were covered with inscriptions on both sides, and on removing one of them, I found that it had been placed upon a layer of bitumen which must have been used in a liquid state, for it had retained, with remarkable distinctness and accuracy, an impression of the characters carved upon the stone. The inscriptions on the face of the upright slabs were about twenty lines in length, and all were precisely similar.

In one corner, as it has been observed, a slab was wanting, and although nothing could be traced, it was evident from the continuation of the pavement beyond the walls of the chamber, that this was the entrance. As the soil had been worn away by the rains to within a few inches of the tops of the upright slabs, I could form no conjecture as to the original height of the room, or as to how the walls were carried above the casing of alabaster.

In the rubbish near the bottom of the chamber, I found several ivory ornaments, upon which were traces of gilding; amongst them was the figure of a man in long robes, carrying in one hand the

Egyptian crux ansata, part of a crouching sphinx, and flowers designed with great taste and elegance. Awad, who had his own suspicions of the object of my search, which he could scarcely persuade himself was limited to mere stones, carefully collected all the scattered fragments of gold leaf he could find in the rubbish; and, calling me aside in a mysterious and confidential fashion, produced them wrapped up in a piece of dingy paper. "O Bey," said he, "Wallah! your books are right, and the Franks know that which is hid from the true believer. Here is the gold, sure enough, and, please God, we shall find it all in a few days. Only don't say any thing about it to those Arabs, for they are asses and cannot hold their tongues. The matter will come to the ears of the Pasha." The Sheikh was much surprised, and equally disappointed, when I generously presented him with the treasures he had collected, and all such as he might hereafter discover. He left me, muttering "Yia Rubbi!" and other pious ejaculations, and lost in conjectures as to the meaning of these strange proceedings.

On reaching the foot of the slabs in the S. W. corner, we found a great accumulation of charcoal, which was further evidence of the cause of the destruction of one of the buildings discovered. I dug also in several directions in this part of the mound, and in many places came upon walls branching out at different angles.

On the third day, I opened a trench in the high conical mound, and found nothing but fragments of

inscribed bricks. I also dug at the back of the north end of the chamber first explored, in the expectation of discovering other walls beyond, but unsuccessfully. As my chief aim was to prove the existence, as soon as possible, of sculptures, all my workmen were moved to the S. W. corner, where the many ramifications of the building already identified, promised speedier success. I continued the excavations in this part of the mound until the 13th, still uncovering inscriptions, but finding no sculptures.

Some days having elapsed since my departure from Mosul, and the experiment having been now sufficiently tried, it was time to return to the town and acquaint the Pasha, who had, no doubt, already heard of my proceedings, with the object of my researches. I started, therefore, early in the morning of the 14th, and galloped to Mosul in about three hours.

I found the town in great commotion. In the first place, his Excellency had, on the day before, entrapped his subjects by the reports of his death, in the manner already described, and was now actively engaged in seeking pecuniary compensation for the insult he had received in the rejoicings of the population. In the second, the British Vice-Consul having purchased an old building in which to store his stock in trade, the Cadi, a fanatic and a man of the most infamous character, on the pretence that the Franks had formed a design of buying up the whole of Turkey, was endeavouring to raise a riot, which was to end in the demolition of the Consulate and other acts of violence. I called on the Pasha, and, in

the first place, congratulated him on his speedy recovery; a compliment which he received with a grim smile of satisfaction. He then introduced the subject of the Cadi, and the disturbance he had created. "Does that ill-conditioned fellow," exclaimed he, "think that he has Sheriff Pasha (his immediate predecessor) to deal with, that he must be planning a riot in the town? When I was at Siwas the Ulema tried to excite the people because I encroached upon a burying-ground. But I made them eat dirt! Wallah! I took every gravestone and built up the castle walls with them." He pretended at first to be ignorant of the excavations at Nimroud; but subsequently thinking that he would convict me of prevarication in my answers to his questions as to the amount of treasure discovered, pulled out of his writing-tray a scrap of paper, as dingy as that produced by Awad, in which was also preserved an almost invisible particle of gold leaf. This, he said, had been brought to him by the commander of the irregular troops stationed at Selamiyah, who had been watching my proceedings. I suggested that he should name an agent to be present as long as I worked at Nimroud, to take charge of all the precious metals that might be discovered. He promised to write on the subject to the chief of the irregulars; but offered no objection to the continuation of my researches.

Reports of the wealth extracted from the ruins had already reached Mosul, and had excited the cupidity and jealousy of the Cadi and principal inhabitants of the place. Others, who well knew my object,

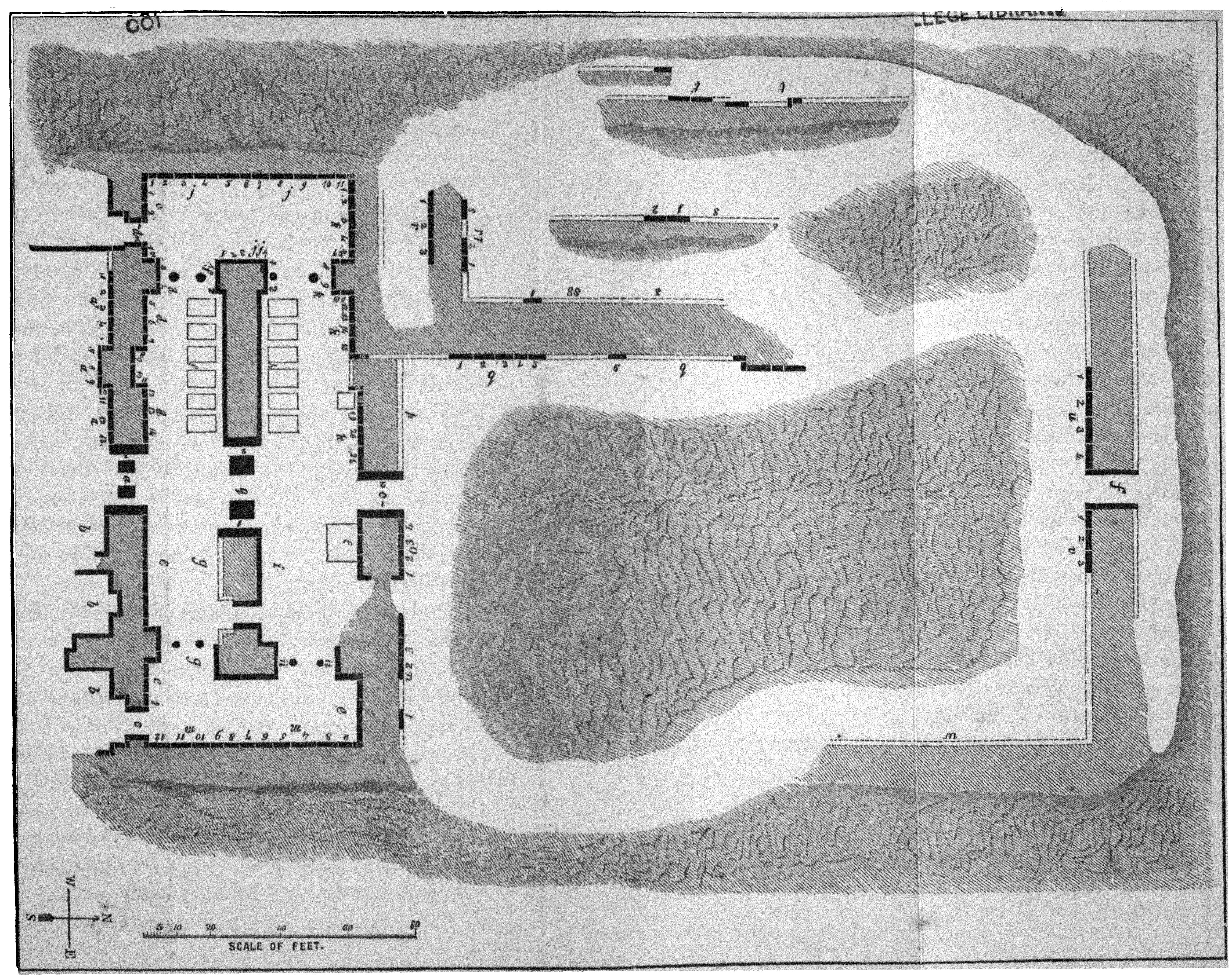
and might have spared me any additional interruption without a sacrifice of their national character, were not backward in throwing obstacles in my way, and in fanning the prejudices of the authorities and natives of the town. It was evident that I should have to contend against a formidable opposition; but as the Pasha had not, as yet, openly objected to my proceedings, I hired several Nestorian Chaldæans, who had left their mountains for the winter to seek employment in Mosul, and sent them to Nimroud. At the same time I engaged agents to explore several mounds in the neighbourhood of the town, hoping to ascertain the existence of sculptured buildings in some part of the country, before steps were taken to interrupt me.

Whilst at Mosul, Mormous, an Arab of the tribe of Haddedeen, informed me that figures had been accidentally uncovered in a mound near the village of Tel Kef. As he offered to take me to the place, we rode out together; but he only pointed out the site of an old quarry, with a few rudely-hewn stones. Such disappointments were daily occurring; and I wearied myself in scouring the country to see remains which had been most minutely described to me as groups of sculptures, and slabs covered with writing, and which generally proved to be the ruin of some modern building, or an early tombstone inscribed with Arabic characters.

The mounds, which I directed to be opened, were those of Baasheikha (of considerable size), Ba-Zani, Karamles, Karakush, Yara, and Jeraiyah. Con-

nected with the latter ruin many strange tales were current in the country. It was said that on it formerly stood a temple of black stone, held in great reverence by the Yezidis, or worshippers of the devil. In this building were all manner of sculptured figures, and the walls were covered with inscriptions in an unknown language. When the Bey of Rowandiz fell upon the Yezidis, and massacred all those who were unable to escape, he destroyed this house of idols; but the materials, of which the walls were built, were only thrown down, and were supposed to be now covered by a small accumulation of rubbish. The lower part of an Assyrian figure, carved in relief on basalt, dug up, it was said, in the mound, was actually brought to me; but I had afterwards reason to suspect that it was discovered at Khorsabad. Excavations were carried on for some time at Jeraiyah, but no remains of the Yezidi temple were brought to light.

Having finished my arrangements in Mosul, I returned to Nimroud on the 19th. During my absence, the workmen, under the direction of my cawass, had carried the excavations along the back of the wall *c*, in plan 2., and had discovered the entrance *d*. Being anxious to make as much progress as possible, I increased my party to thirty men, and distributed them in three sets over the S. W. corner of the mound. By opening long trenches at right angles in various directions, we came upon the top of wall *m*, built of slabs with inscriptions similar to those already described. One, however (No. 10.),



PLAN II. SOUTH-WEST RUIN, NIMROUD.

jecture which course they took, or whether the slabs were facing the inside, or formed the back of the chamber which had probably been discovered.

The Abou Salman and Tai Arabs continuing their depredations in the plains of Nimroud and surrounding country, I deemed it prudent to remove from Naifa, where I had hitherto resided, to Selamiyah. The latter village is built on a rising ground near the Tigris, and was formerly a place of some importance, being mentioned at a very early period as a market town by the Arab geographers, who generally connect it with the ruins of Athur or Nimroud. It probably occupied an ancient site, and in a line of mounds, now at a considerable distance from the village, but enclosing it, can be traced the original walls. Even five years ago Selamiyah was a flourishing village, and could furnish 150 well-armed horsemen. The Pasha had, however, plundered it; and the inhabitants had fled to the mountains or into the Baghdad territories. At that time ten miserable huts stood in the midst of the ruins of bazaars and streets surrounding a kasr or palace, belonging to the family of the old hereditary Pashas, well built of Mosul alabaster, but rapidly falling into decay. I had intended to take possession of this building, which was occupied by a few Hytas or irregular troops; but the rooms were in such a dilapidated condition that the low mud hut of the Kiayah appeared to be both safer and warmer. I accordingly spread my carpet in one of its corners, and giving the owner a few piastres to finish

other dwelling-places which he had commenced, established myself for the winter. The premises, which were speedily completed, consisted of four hovels, surrounded by a wall built of mud, and covered in with reeds and boughs of trees plastered over with the same material. I occupied half of the largest habitation, the other half being appropriated to various domestic animals, — cows, bullocks, and other beasts of the plough. We were separated by a wall; in which, however, numerous apertures served as a means of communication. These I studiously endeavoured for some time to block up. A second hut was devoted to the wives, children, and poultry of my host; a third served as kitchen and servants' hall: the fourth was converted into a stall for my horses. In the enclosure formed by the buildings and the outer wall, the few sheep and goats which had escaped the rapacity of the Pasha, congregated during the night, and kept up a continual bleating and coughing until they were milked and turned out to pasture at day-break.

The roofs not being constructed to exclude the winter rains now setting in, it required some exercise of ingenuity to escape the torrent which descended into my apartment. I usually passed the night on these occasions crouched up in a corner, or under a rude table which I had constructed. The latter, having been surrounded by trenches, to carry off the accumulating waters, generally afforded the best shelter. My Cawass, who was a Constantinopolitan, complained bitterly of the hardships he was compelled to endure,

and I had some difficulty in prevailing upon my servants to remain with me.

The present inhabitants of Selamiyah, and of most of the villages in this part of the Pashalic of Mosul, are Turcomans, descendants of tribes brought by the early Turkish Sultans from the north of Asia Minor, to people a country which had been laid waste by repeated massacres and foreign invasions. In this portion of the Ottoman Empire, except in Mosul and the Mountains, there is scarcely a vestige of the ancient population. The tribes which inhabit the Desert were brought from the Jebel Shammar, in Nedjd, almost within the memory of man. The inhabitants of the plains to the east of the Tigris are mostly Turcomans and Kurds, mixed with Arabs, or with Yezidis, who are strangers in the land, and whose origin cannot easily be determined. A few Chaldæans and Jacobite Christians, scattered in Mosul and the neighbouring villages, or dwelling in the most inaccessible part of the Mountains, their places of refuge from the devastating bands of Tamerlane, are probably the only descendants of that great people which once swayed, from these plains, the half of Asia.

The Yuz-bashi, or captain of the irregular troops, one Daoud Agha, a native of the north of Asia Minor, came to call upon me as soon as I was established in my new quarters. Like most men of his class, acknowledged freebooters*, he was frank and intel-

* The irregular cavalry, [Hytas as they are called in this part of Turkey, and Bashi-bozuks in Roumelia and Anatolia,] are collected from all classes and provinces. A man, known for his courage and daring, is named Hyta-Bashi, or chief of the Hytas, and is furnished with teskérés,

ligent. He tendered me his services, entertained me with his adventures, and planned hunting expeditions. A few presents secured his adherence, and he proved himself afterwards a very useful and faithful ally.

I had now to ride three miles every morning to the mound; and my workmen, who were afraid, on account of the Arabs, to live at Naifa, returned, after the day's labour, to Selamiyah.

The excavations were still carried on as actively as the means at my disposal would permit. The entrance, *d* (plan 2.), had now been completely exposed, and the backs of several slabs of wall *d* had been uncovered. On them were the usual inscriptions and the corner-stone (No. 4.), which had evidently been brought from another building, was richly ornamented with carved flowers and scroll-work. But still no sculptures had been discovered; nor could any idea be yet formed of the relative position of the walls. I ordered a trench to be opened obliquely from the

orders for pay and provisions, for so many horsemen, from four or five hundred to a thousand or more. He collects all the vagrants and freebooters he can find to make up his number. They must find their own arms and horses, although sometimes they are furnished by the Hyta-bashi, who deducts a part of their pay until he reimburses himself. The best Hytas are Albanians and Lazes, and they form a very effective body of irregular cavalry. Their pay at Mosul is small, amounting to about eight shillings a month; in other provinces it is considerably more. They are quartered on the villages, and are the terror of the inhabitants, whom they plunder and ill-treat as they think fit. When a Hyta-bashi has established a reputation for himself, his followers are numerous and devoted. He wanders about the provinces, and like a condottiere of the middle ages, sells his services, and those of his troops, to the Pasha who offers most pay, and the best prospects of plunder.

entrance (*d*) into the interior of the mound, presuming that we should ultimately find the opposite side of the chamber, to which, it appeared probable, we had found the passage. After removing a large accumulation of earth mixed with charcoal, charred wood and broken bricks, we reached the top of wall *f*, on the afternoon of the 28th November. In order to ascertain whether we were in the inside of a chamber, the workmen were directed to clear away the earth from both sides of the slabs. The south face was unsculptured, but the first stroke of the pick on the opposite side, disclosed the top of a bas-relief. The Arabs were no less excited than myself by the discovery; and notwithstanding a violent shower of rain, working until dark, they completely exposed to view two slabs (Nos. 1. and 2.).

On each slab were two bas-reliefs, separated from one another by a band of inscriptions. The subject on the upper part of No. 1. was a battle scene. Two chariots, drawn by horses richly caparisoned, were each occupied by a group of three warriors; the principal person in both groups was beardless, and evidently an eunuch. He was clothed in a complete suit of mail, and wore a pointed helmet on his head, from the sides of which fell lappets covering the ears, the lower part of the face, and the neck. The left hand, the arm being extended, grasped a bow at full stretch; whilst the right, drawing the string to the ear, held an arrow ready to be discharged. A second warrior urged, with the reins and whip to the utmost of their speed, three horses, who were gal-

loping over the plain. A third, without helmet, and with flowing hair and beard, held a shield for the defence of the principal figure Under the horses' feet, and scattered about the relief, were the conquered, wounded by the arrows of the conquerors. I observed with surprise the elegance and richness of the ornaments, the faithful and delicate delineation of the limbs and muscles, both in the men and horses, and the knowledge of art displayed in the grouping of the figures, and the general composition. In all these respects, as well as in costume, this sculpture appeared to me not only to differ, but to surpass the bas-reliefs of Khorsabad. I traced also in the character used in the inscription a marked difference from that found on the monuments discovered by M. Botta. Unfortunately, the slab had been exposed to fire, and was so much injured that its removal was hopeless. The edges had, moreover, been cut away, to the injury of some of the figures and of the inscription; and as the next slab (No. 2.) was reversed, it was evident that both had been brought from another building. This fact rendered any conjecture, as to the origin and form of the edifice we were exploring, still more difficult.

The lower bas-relief on No. 2. represented the siege of a castle or of a walled city. To the left were two warriors, each holding a circular shield in one hand, and a short sword in the other. A tunic, confined at the waist by a girdle, and ornamented with a fringe of tassels, descended to the knee; a quiver was suspended at the back, and the left arm was passed

through the bow, which was thus kept by the side, ready for use. They wore the pointed helmets before described. The foremost warrior was ascending a ladder placed against the castle. Three turrets, with angular battlements, rose above walls similarly ornamented. In the first turret were two warriors, the one in the act of discharging an arrow, the other raising a shield and casting a stone at the assailants from whom the besieged were distinguished by their head-dress, — a simple fillet binding the hair above the temples. Their beards, at the same time, were less carefully arranged. The second turret was occupied by a slinger preparing his sling. In the interval between this turret and the third, and over an arched gateway, was a female figure, known by her long hair descending upon the shoulders in curls. Her right hand was elevated as if in the act of asking for mercy. In the third turret were two more of the besieged, the first discharging an arrow, the second elevating his shield and endeavouring with a torch to burn an instrument resembling a catapult, which had been brought up to the wall by an inclined plane built on a heap of boughs and rubbish. These figures were out of all proportion when compared with the size of the building. A warrior with a pointed helmet, bending on one knee, and holding a torch in his right hand, was setting fire to the gate of the castle, whilst another in full armour was forcing the stones from the foundation with an instrument, probably of iron, resembling a blunt spear. Between them was a wounded man falling headlong from the walls.

No. 2. was a corner-stone very much injured, the greater part of the relief having been cut away to reduce it to convenient dimensions. The upper part, being reversed, was occupied by two warriors; the foremost in a pointed helmet, riding on one horse and leading a second; the other, without helmet, standing in a chariot, and holding the reins loosely in his hands. The horses had been destroyed, and the marks of the chisel were visible on many parts of the slab, the sculpture having been in some places carefully defaced. The lower bas-relief represented a singular subject. On the walls of the castle, two stories high, and defended by many towers, stood a woman tearing her hair to show her grief. Beneath and by the side of a stream, figured by numerous undulating lines, crouched a fisherman drawing from the water a fish he had caught. This slab had been exposed to fire like that adjoining, and had sustained too much injury to be removed.

As I was meditating in the evening over my discovery, Daoud Agha entered, and seating himself near me, delivered a long speech, to the effect, that he was a servant of the Pasha, who was again the slave of the Sultan; and that servants were bound to obey the commands of their master, however disagreeable and unjust they might be. I saw at once to what this exordium was about to lead, and was prepared for the announcement, that he had received orders from Mosul to stop the excavations by threatening those who were inclined to work for me. On the following morning, therefore, I rode to the town, and

waited upon his Excellency. He pretended to be taken by surprise, disclaimed having given any such orders, and directed his secretary to write at once to the commander of the irregular troops, who was to give me every assistance rather than throw impediments in my way. He promised to let me have the letter in the afternoon before I returned to Selamiyah; but an officer came to me soon after, and stated that as the Pasha was unwilling to detain me he would forward it in the night. I rode back to the village, and acquainted Daoud Agha with the result of my visit. About midnight, however, he returned to me, and declared that a horseman had just brought him more stringent orders than any he had yet received, and that on no account was he to permit me to carry on the work.

Surprised at this inconsistency, I returned to Mosul early next day, and again called upon the Pasha. "It was with deep regret," said he, "I learnt, after your departure yesterday, that the mound in which you are digging had been used as a burying-ground by Mussulmans, and was covered with their graves; now you are aware that by the law it is forbidden to disturb a tomb, and the Cadi and Mufti have already made representations to me on the subject." "In the first place," replied I, "being pretty well acquainted with the mound, I can state that no graves have been disturbed; in the second, after the wise and firm '*politica*' which your Excellency exhibited at Sivas, grave-stones would present no difficulty. Please God, the Cadi and Mufti

have profited by the lesson which your Excellency gave to the ill-mannered Ulema of that city." "In Sivas," returned he, immediately understanding my meaning, "I had Mussulmans to deal with, and there was tanzimat *, but here we have only Kurds and Arabs, and, Wallah! they are beasts. No, I cannot allow you to proceed; you are my dearest and most intimate friend: if anything happens to you, what grief should I not suffer! your life is more valuable than old stones; besides, the responsibility would fall upon my head." Finding that the Pasha had resolved to interrupt my proceedings, I pretended to acquiesce in his answer, and requested that a Cawass of his own might be sent with me to Nimroud, as I wished to draw the sculptures and copy the inscriptions which had already been uncovered. To this he consented, and ordered an officer to accompany me. Before leaving Mosul, I learnt with regret from what quarter the opposition to my proceedings chiefly came.

On my return to Selamiyah there was little difficulty in inducing the Pasha's Cawass to countenance the employment of a few workmen to *guard* the sculptures during the day; and as Daoud Agha considered that this functionary's presence relieved him from any further responsibility, he no longer interfered with any experiment I might think proper to make. Wishing to ascertain the existence of the graves, and also to draw one of the bas-reliefs, which had been

* The reformed system introduced into most provinces of Turkey, but which had not yet been extended to Mosul and Baghdad.

uncovered, though not to continue the excavations for a day or two, I rode to the ruins on the following morning, accompanied by the Hytas and their chief, who were going their usual rounds in search of plundering Arabs. Daoud Agha confessed to me on our way that he had received orders to make graves on the mound, and that his troops had been employed for two nights in bringing stones from distant villages for that purpose.* "We have destroyed more real tombs of the true Believers," said he, "in making sham ones, than you could have defiled between the Zab and Selamiyah. We have killed our horses and ourselves in carrying those accursed stones." A steady rain setting in, I left the horsemen, and returned to the village.

In the evening Daoud Agha brought back with him a prisoner and two of his followers severely wounded. He had fallen in with a party of Arabs under Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman of the Abou Salman, whose object in crossing the Zab had been to plunder me as I worked at the mound. After a short engagement, the Arabs were compelled to recross the river.

I continued to employ a few men to open trenches by way of experiment, and was not long in discovering other sculptures. Near the western edge we came upon the lower part of several gigantic figures, uninjured by fire.† It was from this place that in the time of Ahmed Pasha, materials were taken for re-

* In Arabia, the graves are merely marked by unhewn stones placed upright at the head and feet, and in a heap over the body.

† Wall *t*, in plan 2.

building the tomb of Sultan Abdallah, and the slabs had been sawn in half, and otherwise injured. At the foot of the S. E. corner was found a crouching lion, rudely carved in basalt, which appeared to have fallen from the building above, and to have been exposed for centuries to the atmosphere. In the centre of the mound we uncovered part of a pair of gigantic winged bulls, the head and half the wings of which had been destroyed. On the back of the enormous slabs, the length of which was fourteen feet, whilst the height must have been originally the same, on which these animals had been carved in high relief, were inscriptions in large and well-cut characters. A pair of small winged lions*, the heads and upper part destroyed, were also discovered. They appeared to form an entrance into a chamber, were admirably designed and very carefully executed. Finally, a human figure, nine feet high, the right hand elevated, and carrying in the left a branch with three flowers, resembling the poppy, was found in wall *k* (plan 2.). I uncovered only the upper part of these sculptures, satisfied with proving their existence, without exposing them to the risk of injury, should my labours be at any time interrupted. Still no conjecture could be formed as to the contents of the mound, or as to the nature of the buildings I was exploring. Only detached and unconnected walls had been discovered, and it could not even be determined which side of them had been laid bare.

The experiment had been fairly tried; there was

* Entrance to chamber BB, plan 3.

no longer any doubt of the existence not only of sculptures and inscriptions, but even of vast edifices in the interior of the mound of Nimroud, as all parts of it that had yet been examined, furnished remains of buildings and carved slabs. I lost no time, therefore, in acquainting Sir Stratford Canning with my discovery, and urging the necessity of a Firman, or order from the Porte, which would prevent any future interference on the part of the authorities, or the inhabitants of the country.

It was now nearly Christmas, and as it was desirable to remove all the tombs, which had been made by the Pasha's orders, on the mound, and others, more genuine, which had since been found, I came to an understanding on the subject with Daoud Agha. I covered over the sculptures brought to light, and withdrew altogether from Nimroud, leaving an agent at Selamiyah.

On entering Mosul on the morning of the 18th, I found the whole population in a ferment of joy. A Tatar had that morning brought from Constantinople the welcome news that the Porte, at length alive to the wretched condition of the province, and to the misery of the inhabitants, had disgraced the governor, and named Ismail Pasha, a young Major-General of the new school, to carry on affairs until Hafiz Pasha, who had been appointed to succeed Keritli Oglu, could reach his government. Only ten days previously the inhabitants had been well-nigh driven to despair by the arrival of a Firman, confirming Mohammed Pasha for another year; but this

only proved a trick on the part of the secretaries of the Porte to obtain the presents which are usually given on these occasions, and which the Pasha, on receipt of the document, hastened to remit to Constantinople. His Excellency was consequently doubly aggrieved by the loss of his Pashalic and of his money.

Ismail Pasha, who had been for some time in command of the troops at Diarbekir, had gained a great reputation for justice amongst the Mussulmans, and for tolerance amongst the Christians. Consequently his appointment had given much satisfaction to the people of Mosul, who were prepared to receive him with a demonstration. However, his Excellency slipped into the town during the night, some time before he had been expected. On the following morning a change had taken place at the Serai, and Mohammed Pasha, with his followers, were reduced to extremities. The dragoman of the Consulate, who had business to transact with him, found the late Governor sitting in a dilapidated chamber, through which the rain penetrated without hindrance. "Thus it is," said he, "with God's creatures. Yesterday all those dogs were kissing my feet; to-day every one, and everything, falls upon me, even the rain!"

During these events the state of the country rendered the continuation of my researches at Nimroud almost impossible. I determined, therefore, to proceed to Baghdad, to make arrangements for the removal of the sculptures at a future period, and to

consult generally with Major Rawlinson, from whose experience and knowledge I could derive the most valuable assistance. A raft having been constructed, I started with Mr. Hector, a gentleman from Baghdad, who had visited me at Nimroud, and reached that city on the 24th of December.

CHAP. III.

RETURN TO MOSUL. — ISMAIL PASHA. — CHANGE IN THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY. — RETURN TO NIMROUD. — THE RUINS IN SPRING. — EXCAVATIONS RESUMED. — FURTHER DISCOVERIES. — NEW INTERRUPTIONS. — SHEIKH ABD-UR-RAHMAN AND THE ABOU SALMAN ARABS. — FRESH BAS-RELIEFS IN THE NORTH-WEST CORNER. — DISCOVERY OF THE PRINCIPAL PALACE. — ENTIRE BAS-RELIEFS. — DISCOVERY OF THE GIGANTIC LIONS. — SURPRISE OF THE ARABS. — SENSATION AT MOSUL, AND CONDUCT OF THE PASHA AND CADI. — EXCAVATIONS STOPPED. — FURTHER DISCOVERIES. — DESCRIPTION OF THE HUMAN-HEADED LIONS. — REFLECTIONS ON THEIR ANTIQUITY AND OBJECT. — THE JEBOUR ARABS. — THEIR SHEIKHS. — A KURDISH CHIEF. — NIMROUD IN MARCH. — DESCRIPTION OF THE PLAIN AT SUNSET. — THE TUNNEL OF NEGOUB. — AN ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTION.

ON my return to Mosul in the beginning of January, I found Ismail Pasha installed in the government. He received me with courtesy, offered no opposition to the continuation of my researches at Nimroud, and directed the irregular troops stationed at Selamiyah to afford me every assistance and protection. The change since my departure had been as sudden as great. A few conciliatory acts on the part of the new Governor, an order from the Porte for an inquiry into the sums unjustly levied by the late Pasha, with a view to their repayment, and a promise of a diminution of taxes, had so far reassured and gained the confidence of those who had fled to the mountains and the desert, that the inhabitants of the villages were

slowly returning to their homes; and even the Arab tribes, which were formerly accustomed to pasture their flocks in the districts of Mosul, were again pitching their tents on the banks of the Tigris. The diminished population of the province had been so completely discouraged by the repeated extortions of Keritli Oglu, that the fields had been left untilled. The villagers were now actively engaged, although the season was already far advanced, in sowing grain of various kinds. The palace was filled with Kurdish chiefs and Arab Sheikhs, who had accepted the invitation of the new Pasha to visit the town, and were seeking investiture as heads of their respective tribes. The people of Mosul were looking forward to an equal taxation, and the abolition of the system of torture and arbitrary exactions, which had hitherto been adopted by their governors.

During my absence my agents had not been inactive. Several trenches had been opened in the great mound of Baasheikha; and fragments of sculpture and inscriptions, with much entire pottery and inscribed bricks, had been discovered there. At Karamles a platform of brickwork had been uncovered, and the Assyrian origin of the ruin was proved by the inscription on the bricks, which contained the name of the Khorsabad king.

I rode to Nimroud on the 17th of January, having first engaged a party of Nestorian Chaldæans to accompany me.

The change that had taken place in the face of the country during my absence, was no less remarkable

than that which I had found in the political state of the province. To me they were both equally agreeable and welcome. The rains, which had fallen almost incessantly from the day of my departure for Baghdad, had rapidly brought forward the vegetation of spring. The mound was no longer an arid and barren heap; its surface and its sides were equally covered with verdure. From the summit of the pyramid my eye ranged, on one side, over a broad level enclosed by the Tigris and the Zab; on the other, over a low undulating country bounded by the snow-capped mountains of Kurdistan; but it was no longer the dreary waste I had left a month before; the landscape was clothed in green, the black tents of the Arabs chequered the plain of Nimroud, and their numerous flocks pastured on the distant hills. The Abou Salman, encouraged by favourable reports of the policy of the new Pasha, had recrossed the Zab, and had sought their old encamping grounds. The Jehesh and Shemutti Arabs had returned to their villages, around which the wandering Jebours had pitched their tents, and were now engaged in cultivating the soil. Even on the mound the plough opened its furrows, and corn was sown over the palaces of the Assyrian kings.

Security had been restored, and Nimroud offered a more convenient and more agreeable residence than Selamiyah. Hiring, therefore, from the owners three huts, which had been hastily built in the outskirts of the village, I removed to my new dwelling place. A few rude chairs, a table, and a wooden bedstead,

formed the whole of my furniture. My Cawass spread his carpet, and hung his tobacco pouch in the corner of a hovel, which he had appropriated, and spent his days in peaceful contemplation. The servants constructed a rude kitchen, and the grooms shared the stalls with the horses. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, the brother of the British Vice-Consul, came to reside with me, and undertook the daily payment of the workmen and the domestic arrangements.

My agent, with the assistance of the chief of the Hytas, had punctually fulfilled the instructions he had received on my departure. Not only were the counterfeit graves carefully removed, but even others, which possessed more claim to respect, had been rooted out. I entered into an elaborate argument with the Arabs on the subject of the latter, and proved to them that, as the bodies were not turned towards Mecca, they could not be those of true believers. I ordered the remains, however, to be carefully collected, and to be reburied at the foot of the mound.

I had now uncovered the back of the whole of wall *j*, of wall *k* to slab 15, and of six slabs of wall *m*; Nos. 1. and 2. of wall *f*, and the entrance *d* with a small part of wall *a*. All these belonged to the palace in the S. W. corner of the mound represented by plan 2. In the centre of the mound I had discovered the remains of the two winged bulls; in the N. W. palace, figured in plan 3., the chamber A, and the two small winged lions forming the entrance to chamber BB. The only additional bas-reliefs were two on slab 12 of wall *k*

(plan 2.), the upper much injured and the subject unintelligible; the lower containing four figures, carrying presents or supplies for a banquet. The hands of the foremost figure having been destroyed, the object which they held could not be determined. The second bears either fruit or a loaf of bread, the third has a basket in his right hand, whilst the left holds a skin of wine thrown over the shoulder, and the fourth is the bearer of a similar skin, having in the right hand a vessel of not inelegant shape. The four figures are clothed in long robes, richly fringed, descending to the ankles, and wear the conical cap or helmet before described. The slab on which these bas-reliefs occurred had also been reduced in size, to the injury of the sculpture, and had evidently belonged to another building. The slabs on either side of it bore the usual inscription.

I had scarcely resumed my labours when I received information that the Cadi of Mosul was endeavouring to stir up the people against me, chiefly on the plea that I was carrying away treasure; and, what was worse, finding inscriptions which proved that the Franks once held the country, and upon the evidence of which they intended immediately to resume possession of it, exterminating all true believers. These stories, however absurd they may appear, rapidly gained ground in the town. Old Mohammed Emin Pasha brought out his Yakuti, and confirmed, by that geographer's statements with regard to Khorsabad, the allegations of the Cadi. A representation was ultimately made by the Ulema to Ismail Pasha;

and as he expressed a wish to see me, I rode to Mosul. He was not, he said, influenced by the Cadi or the Mufti, nor did he believe the absurd tales which they had spread abroad. I should shortly see how he intended to treat these troublesome fellows, but he thought it prudent at present to humour them, and made it a personal request that I would, for the time, suspend the excavations. I consented with regret; and once more returned to Nimroud without being able to gratify the ardent curiosity I felt to explore further the extraordinary building, the nature of which was still a mystery to me.

The Abou Salman Arabs, who encamp around Nimroud, are known for their thieving propensities, and might have caused me some annoyance. Thinking it prudent, therefore, to conciliate their chief, I rode over one morning to their principal encampment. Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman received me at the entrance of his capacious tent of black goat-hair, which was crowded with his relations, followers, and strangers, who were enjoying his hospitality. He was one of the handsomest Arabs I ever saw; tall, robust, and well-made, with a countenance in which intelligence was no less marked than courage and resolution. On his head he wore a turban of dark linen, from under which a many-coloured handkerchief fell over his shoulders; his dress was a simple white shirt, descending to the ankles, and an Arab cloak thrown loosely over it. Unlike Arabs in general, he had shaved his beard; and, although he could scarcely be much beyond forty, I observed that the little hair

which could be distinguished from under his turban was grey. He received me with every demonstration of hospitality, and led me to the upper place, divided by a goat-hair curtain from the harem. The tent was capacious; half was appropriated by the women, the rest formed the place of reception, and was at the same time occupied by two favourite mares and a colt. A few camels were kneeling on the grass around, and the horses of the strangers were tied by the halter to the tent-pins. From the carpets and cushions, which were spread for me, stretched on both sides a long line of men of the most motley appearance, seated on the bare ground. The Sheikh himself, as is the custom in some of the tribes, to show his respect for his guest, placed himself at the furthest end; and could only be prevailed upon, after many excuses and protestations, to share the carpet with me. In the centre of the group, near a small fire of camel's dung, crouched a half-naked Arab, engaged alternately in blowing up the expiring embers, or pounding the roasted coffee in a copper mortar, ready to replenish the huge pots which stood near him.

After the customary compliments had been exchanged with all around, one of my attendants beckoned to the Sheikh, who left the tent to receive the presents I had brought to him,—a silk gown and a supply of coffee and sugar. He dressed himself in his new attire and returned to the assembly. "Inshallah," said I, "we are now friends, although scarcely a month ago you came over the Zab on purpose to appropriate the little property I am accus-

tomed to carry about me." "Wallah, Bey," he replied, "you say true, we are friends; but listen: the Arabs either sit down and serve his Majesty the Sultan, or they eat from others, as others would eat from them. Now my tribe are of the Zobeide, and were brought here many years ago by the Pashas of the Abd-el-Jelleel.* These lands were given us in return for the services we rendered the Turks in keeping back the Tai and the Shammar, who crossed the rivers to plunder the villages. All the great men of the Abou Salman perished in encounters with the Bedouin, and Injeh Bairakdar, Mohammed Pasha, upon whom God has had mercy, acknowledged our fidelity and treated us with honour. When that blind dog, the son of the Cretan, may curses fall upon him! came to Mosul, I waited upon him, as it is usual for the Sheikh; what did *he* do? Did he give me the cloak of honour? No; he put me, an Arab of the tribe of Zobeide, a tribe which had fought with the Prophet, into the public stocks. For forty days my heart melted away in a damp cell, and I was exposed to every variety of torture. Look at these hairs," continued he, lifting up his turban, "they turned white in that time, and I must now shave my beard, a shame amongst the Arabs. I was released at last; but how did I return to the tribe?—a beggar, unable to kill a sheep for my guests. He took my mares, my flocks, and my camels, as the price of my liberty. Now tell me, O Bey, in the name of God,

* The former hereditary governors of Mosul.

if the Osmanlis have eaten from me and my guests, shall I not eat from them and theirs?"

The fate of Abd-ur-rahman had been such as he described it; and so had fared several chiefs of the desert and of the mountains. It was not surprising that these men, proud of their origin and accustomed to the independence of a wandering life, had revenged themselves upon the unfortunate inhabitants of the villages, who had no less cause to complain than themselves. However, the Sheikh promised to abstain from plunder for the future, and to present himself to Ismail Pasha, of whose conciliatory conduct he had already heard.

It was nearly the middle of February before I thought it prudent to make fresh experiments among the ruins. To avoid notice I only employed a few men, and confined myself to the examination of such parts of the mound as appeared to contain buildings. A trench was first opened at right angles to the centre of wall *k* (plan 2.), and we speedily found the wall *q*. All the slabs were sculptured, and uninjured by fire; but unfortunately had been half destroyed by long exposure to the atmosphere. Three consecutive slabs were occupied by the same subject; others were placed without regularity, portions of a figure, which should have been continued on an adjoining stone, being wanting. It was evident from the costume, the ornaments, and the nature of the relief, that these sculptures did not belong either to the same building, or to the same period as those previously discovered. I recognised in them the style of Khorsabad,

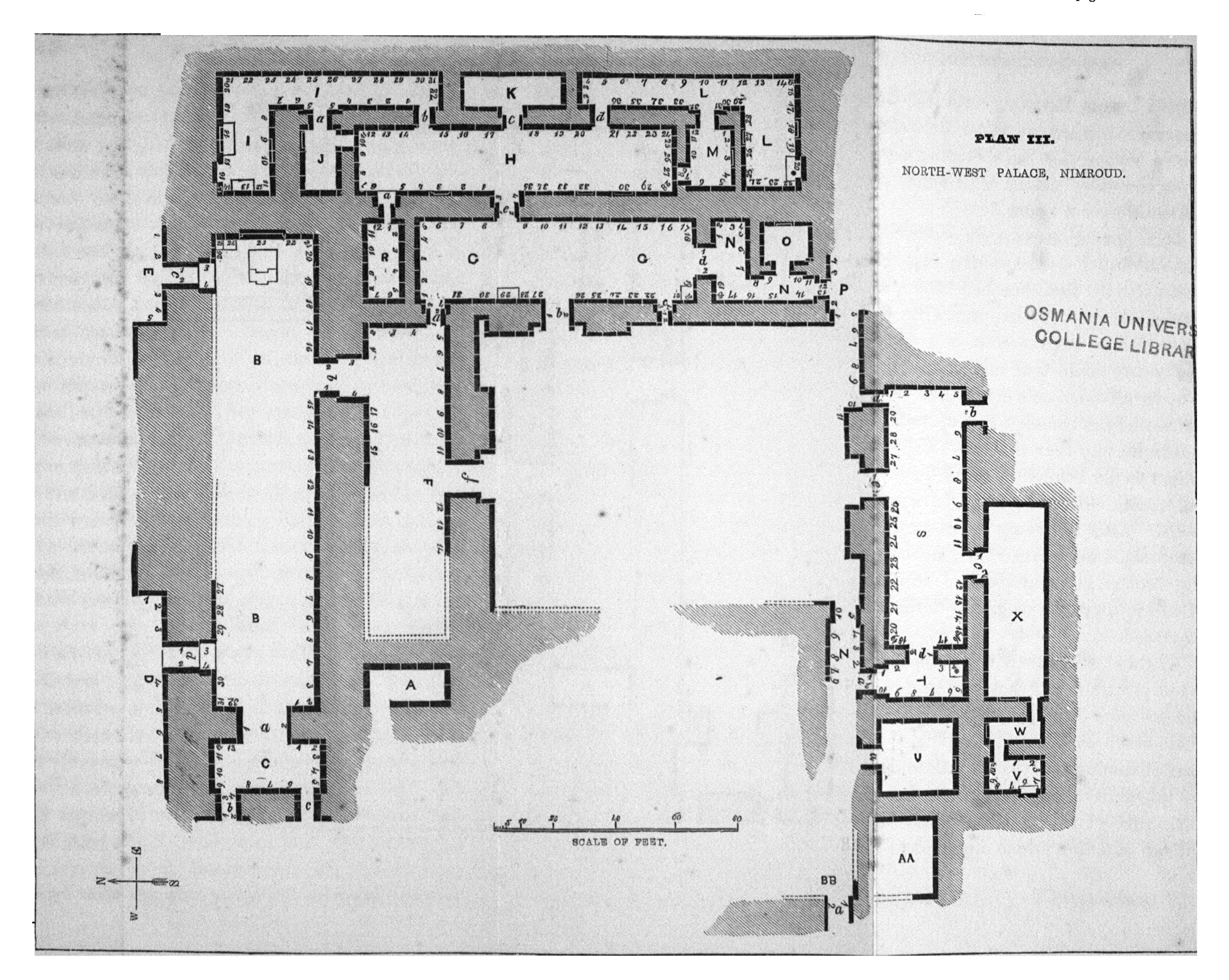
carried across the slabs over the drapery, but were interrupted when a naked limb occurred, and resumed beyond it. Such is generally the case when, as in the older palace of Nimroud, inscriptions are engraved over a figure.

These experiments were sufficient to prove that the building I was exploring had not been entirely destroyed by fire, but had been partly exposed to gradual decay. No sculptures had hitherto been discovered in a perfect state of preservation, and only one or two could bear removal. I determined, therefore, to abandon this corner, and to resume excavations near the chamber first opened*, where the slabs had in no way been injured. The workmen were directed to dig behind the small lions†, which appeared to form an entrance, and to be connected with other walls. After removing much earth, a few unsculptured slabs were discovered, fallen from their places, and broken in many pieces. The sides of the room of which they had originally formed part could not be traced.

As these ruins occurred on the edge of the mound, it was probable that they had been more exposed than the rest, and consequently had sustained more injury than other parts of the building. As there was a ravine running far into the mound, apparently formed by the winter rains, I determined to open a trench in the centre of it. In two days the workmen reached the top of a slab, which appeared to be both well pre-

* Chamber A, plan 3.

† Entrance to chamber B B.


PLAN III.
NORTH-WEST PALACE, NIMROUD.
SCALE OF FEET.
OSMANIA UNIVERS
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served, and to be still standing in its original position. On the south side I discovered, to my great satisfaction, two human figures, considerably above the natural size, sculptured in low relief, and still exhibiting all the freshness of a recent work. This was No. 30. of chamber B in the third plan. In a few hours the earth and rubbish had been completely removed from the face of the slab, no part of which had been injured. The ornaments delicately graven on the robes, the tassels and fringes, the bracelets and armlets, the elaborate curls of the hair and beard, were all entire. The figures were back to back, and furnished with wings. They appeared to represent divinities, presiding over the seasons, or over particular religious ceremonies. The one, whose face was turned to the East, carried a fallow deer on his right arm, and in his left hand a branch bearing five flowers. Around his temples was a fillet, adorned in front with a rosette. The other held a square vessel, or basket, in the left hand, and an object resembling a fir cone in the right. On his head he wore a rounded cap, at the base of which was a horn. The garments of both, consisting of a stole falling from the shoulders to the ankles, and a short tunic underneath, descending to the knee, were richly and tastefully decorated with embroideries and fringes, whilst the hair and beard were arranged with study and art. Although the relief was lower, yet the outline was perhaps more careful, and true, than that of the Assyrian sculptures of Khorsabad. The limbs were delineated with peculiar accuracy, and the muscles

and bones faithfully, though somewhat too strongly, marked. An inscription ran across the sculpture.

To the west of this slab, and fitting to it, was a corner-stone ornamented with flowers and scroll-work, tastefully arranged, and resembling in detail those graven on the injured tablet, near entrance *d* of the S.W. building. I recognised at once from whence many of the sculptures, employed in the construction of that edifice, had been brought; and it was evident that I had at length discovered the earliest palace of Nimroud.

The corner-stone led me to a figure of singular form.* A human body, clothed in robes similar to those of the winged men on the previous slab, was surmounted by the head of an eagle or of a vulture.† The curved beak, of considerable length, was half open, and displayed a narrow pointed tongue, which was still coloured with red paint. On the shoulders fell the usual curled and bushy hair of the Assyrian images, and a comb of feathers rose on the top of the head. Two wings sprang from the back, and in either hand was the square vessel and fir-cone.

On all these figures paint could be faintly distinguished, particularly on the hair, beard, eyes, and sandals. The slabs on which they were sculptured had sustained no injury, and could be without difficulty packed and moved to any distance. There could no longer be any doubt that they formed part

* No. 32. chamber B, plan 3.

† It has been suggested that this is the head of a cock, but it is unquestionably that of a carnivorous bird of the eagle tribe.

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To face page 64, Vol. I.



EAGLE-HEADED FIGURE. N. W. Palace, Nimroud.)

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of a chamber, and that, to explore it completely, I had only to continue along the wall, now partly uncovered.

On the morning following these discoveries, I rode to the encampment of Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman, and was returning to the mound, when I saw two Arabs of his tribe urging their mares to the top of their speed. On approaching me they stopped. "Hasten, O Bey," exclaimed one of them — "hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true! we have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God;" and both joining in this pious exclamation, they galloped off, without further words, in the direction of their tents.

On reaching the ruins I descended into the new trench, and found the workmen, who had already seen me, as I approached, standing near a heap of baskets and cloaks. Whilst Awad advanced and asked for a present to celebrate the occasion, the Arabs withdrew the screen they had hastily constructed, and disclosed an enormous human head sculptured in full out of the alabaster of the country. They had uncovered the upper part of a figure, the remainder of which was still buried in the earth. I saw at once that the head must belong to a winged lion or bull, similar to those of Khorsabad and Persepolis. It was in admirable preservation. The expression was calm, yet majestic, and the outline of the features showed a freedom and knowledge of art, scarcely to be looked for in the works of so remote a period. The cap had three horns, and, unlike that of

the human-headed bulls hitherto found in Assyria, was rounded and without ornament at the top.

I was not surprised that the Arabs had been amazed and terrified at this apparition. It required no stretch of imagination to conjure up the most strange fancies. This gigantic head, blanched with age, thus rising from the bowels of the earth, might well have belonged to one of those fearful beings which are pictured in the traditions of the country, as appearing to mortals, slowly ascending from the regions below. One of the workmen on catching the first glimpse of the monster, had thrown down his basket and run off towards Mosul as fast as his legs could carry him. I learnt this with regret as I anticipated the consequences.

Whilst I was superintending the removal of the earth, which still clung to the sculpture, and giving directions for the continuation of the work, a noise of horsemen was heard, and presently Abd-ur-rahman, followed by half his tribe, appeared on the edge of the trench. As soon as the two Arabs had reached the tents, and published the wonders they had seen, every one mounted his mare and rode to the mound, to satisfy himself of the truth of these inconceivable reports. When they beheld the head they all cried together, "There is no God but God, and Mahommed is his Prophet!" It was some time before the Sheikh could be prevailed upon to descend into the pit, and convince himself that the image he saw was of stone. "This is not the work of men's hands," exclaimed he, "but of those infidel giants of whom

To face page 66, Vol. I.



DISCOVERY OF THE GIGANTIC HEAD.

the Prophet, peace be with him! has said, that they were higher than the tallest date tree; this is one of the idols which Noah, peace be with him! cursed before the flood." In this opinion, the result of a careful examination, all the bystanders concurred.

I now ordered a trench to be dug due south from the head, in the expectation of finding a corresponding figure, and before night-fall reached the object of my search about twelve feet distant. Engaging two or three men to sleep near the sculptures, I returned to the village and celebrated the day's discovery by a slaughter of sheep, of which all the Arabs near partook. As some wandering musicians chanced to be at Selamiyah, I sent for them, and dances were kept up during the greater part of the night. On the following morning Arabs from the other side of the Tigris, and the inhabitants of the surrounding villages congregated on the mound. Even the women could not repress their curiosity, and came in crowds, with their children, from afar. My Cawass was stationed during the day in the trench, into which I would not allow the multitude to descend.

As I had expected, the report of the discovery of the gigantic head, carried by the terrified Arab to Mosul, had thrown the town into commotion. He had scarcely checked his speed before reaching the bridge. Entering breathless into the bazars, he announced to every one he met that Nimrod had appeared. The news soon got to the ears of the Cadi, who, anxious for a fresh opportunity to annoy me, called the Mufti and the Ulema together, to consult

upon this unexpected occurrence. Their deliberations ended in a procession to the Governor, and a formal protest, on the part of the Musulmans of the town, against proceedings so directly contrary to the laws of the Koran. The Cadi had no distinct idea whether the bones of the mighty hunter had been uncovered, or only his image ; nor did Ismail Pasha very clearly remember whether Nimrod was a true-believing prophet, or an Infidel. I consequently received a somewhat unintelligible message from his Excellency, to the effect that the remains should be treated with respect, and be by no means further disturbed, and that he wished the excavations to be stopped at once, and desired to confer with me on the subject.

I called upon him accordingly, and had some difficulty in making him understand the nature of my discovery. As he requested me to discontinue my operations until the sensation in the town had somewhat subsided, I returned to Nimroud and dismissed the workmen, retaining only two men to dig leisurely along the walls without giving cause for further interference. I ascertained by the end of March the existence of a second pair of winged human-headed lions*, differing from those previously discovered in form, the human shape being continued to the waist and furnished with arms. In one hand each figure carried a goat or stag, and in the other, which hung down by the side, a branch with three flowers. They formed

* Entrance of chamber B, plan 3.

a northern entrance into the chamber of which the lions previously described were the southern portal. I completely uncovered the latter, and found them to be entire. They were about twelve feet in height, and the same number in length. The body and limbs were admirably portrayed; the muscles and bones, although strongly developed to display the strength of the animal, showed at the same time a correct knowledge of its anatomy and form. Expanded wings sprung from the shoulder and spread over the back; a knotted girdle, ending in tassels, encircled the loins. These sculptures, forming an entrance, were partly in full and partly in relief. The head and fore-part, facing the chamber, were in full; but only one side of the rest of the slab was sculptured, the back being placed against the wall of sun-dried bricks. That the spectator might have both a perfect front and side view of the figures, they were furnished with five legs; two were carved on the end of the slab to face the chamber, and three on the side. The relief of the body and three limbs was high and bold, and the slab was covered, in all parts not occupied by the image, with inscriptions in the cuneiform character. These magnificent specimens of Assyrian art were in perfect preservation; the most minute lines in the details of the wings and in the ornaments had been retained with their original freshness. Not a character was wanting in the inscriptions.

I used to contemplate for hours these mysterious emblems, and muse over their intent and history. What more noble forms could have ushered the

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INGED E EADED LION. (N. W. Palace Nimroud.)

ancient and no less wonderful; but they have stood forth for ages to testify her early power and renown; whilst those before me had but now appeared to bear witness in the words of the prophet, that once "the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches and with a shadowing shroud of an high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs . . . . his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long, because of the multitude of waters when he shot forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations;" for now is "Nineveh a desolation and dry like a wilderness, and flocks lie down in the midst of her: all the beasts of the nations, both the cormorant and bittern, lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice sings in the windows; and desolation is in the thresholds." *

Behind the lions was another chamber.† I uncovered about fifty feet of its northern wall. On each slab was carved the winged figure with the horned cap, fir-cone, and square vessel or basket. They were in pairs facing one another and divided by an emblematic tree, similar to that on the corner stone in chamber B. All these bas-reliefs were inferior in execution, and finish, to those previously discovered.

During the month of March I received visits from

* Ezekiel, xxxi. 3., &c., Zephaniah, ii. 13. and 14.

† Chamber C.

the principal Sheikhs of the Jebour Arabs, whose tribes had now partly crossed the Tigris, and were pasturing their flocks in the neighbourhood of Nimroud, or cultivating millet on the banks of the river. The Jebour are a branch of the ancient tribe of Obeid. Their encamping grounds are on the banks of the Khabour, from its junction with the Euphrates,—from the ancient Carchemish or Circesium,—to its source at Ras-el-Ain. They were suddenly attacked and plundered a year or two ago by the Aneyza; and being compelled to leave their haunts, took refuge in the districts around Mosul. The Pasha, at first, received them well; but learning that several mares of pure Arab blood still remained with the Sheikhs, he determined to seize them. To obtain them as presents, or by purchase, he knew to be impossible; he consequently formed the design of taking the tribe by surprise, as they had been thrown off their guard by their friendly reception. A body of irregular troops was accordingly sent for the purpose towards their tents; but the Arabs, suspecting the nature of their visit, prepared to resist. A conflict ensued in which the Pasha's horsemen were completely defeated. A more formidable expedition, including regular troops and artillery, now marched against them. But they were again victorious and repulsed the Turks with considerable loss. They fled, nevertheless, to the desert, where they had since been wandering in great misery, joining with the Shammar and other tribes in plundering the villages of the Pashalic. On learning the measures taken by Ismail

Pasha, dying with hunger, they had returned to arable lands on the banks of the river; where, by an imperfect and toilsome fashion of irrigation, they could, during the summer months, raise a small supply of millet to satisfy their immediate necessities.

The Jebour were at this time divided into three branches, obeying different Sheikhs. The names of the three chiefs were Abd'rubbou, Mohammed Emin, and Mohammed ed Dagher. Although all three visited me at Nimroud, it was the first with whom I was best acquainted, and who rendered me most assistance. I thought it necessary to give them each small presents, a silk dress, or an embroidered cloak, with a pair of capacious boots, as in case of any fresh disturbances in the country it would be as well to be on friendly terms with the tribe. The intimacy, however, which sprang from these acts of generosity, was not in all respects of the most desirable or convenient nature. The Arab compliment of "my house is your house" was accepted more literally than I had intended, and I was seldom free from a large addition to my establishment. A Sheikh and a dozen of his attendants were generally installed in my huts, whilst their mares were tied at every door. My fame even reached the mountains, and one day, on returning from Mosul, I found a Kurdish chief, with a numerous suite, in the full enjoyment of my premises. The whole party were dressed in the height of fashion. Every colour had received due consideration in their attire. Their arms were of very superior design and workmanship, their turbans of adequate height and

capacity. The chief enjoyed a multiplicity of titles, political, civil, and ecclesiastical: he was announced as Mullah Ali Effendi Bey*; and brought, as a token of friendship, a skin of honey and cheese, a Kurdish carpet, and some horse trappings. I felt honoured by the presence of so illustrious a personage, and the duties of hospitality compelled me to accept his offerings, which were duly placed amongst the stores.

He had evidently some motives sufficiently powerful to overcome his very marked religious prejudices — motives which certainly could not be traced to disinterested friendship. Like Shylock, he would have said, had he not been of too good breeding, "I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk with you, and so following; but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you;" for he sat in solitary sanctity to eat his own pillaf, drank out of a reserved jar, and sought the dwellings of the true believers to spread his prayer-carpet. Dogs were an abomination to him, and two of his attendants were constantly on the watch to keep his legs and the lower part of his garments free from the touch of my greyhounds, who wandered through the premises.

As my guest was the chief of a large tribe of

* These double titles are very common amongst the Kurds, as Beder Khan Bey, Mir Nur Ullah Bey, &c. The Porte, however, persists in writing the word Khan, "Kan," because it will not recognise in any one else a title which is given by the Turks to the Osmanlee Sultans alone. So the word "Hadji," a Pilgrim, when applied to a Christian is not written the same as when borne by a Musulman, for a religious epithet would be polluted if added to the name of an unbeliever.

nomad Kurds who inhabit the mountains in the neighbourhood of Rowandiz during the summer, and the plains around Arbil in winter, I did not feel the necessity of conciliating him as I had done the Arab Sheikhs encamping near Nimroud, nor did I desire to encourage visits from persons of his sanctity and condition. I allowed him therefore to remain without making any return for his presents, or understanding the hints on the subject he took frequent occasion to drop. At length, on the second evening, his secretary asked for an interview. "The Mullah Effendi," said he, "will leave your Lordship's abode to-morrow. Praise be to God, the most disinterested and sincere friendship has been established between you, and it is suitable that your Lordship should take this opportunity of giving a public testimony of your regard for his Reverence. Not that he desires to accept anything from you, but it would be highly gratifying to him to prove to his tribe that he has met with a friendly reception from so distinguished a person as yourself, and to spread through the mountains reports of your generosity." "I regret," answered I, "that the trifling differences in matters of religion which exist between us, should preclude the possibility of the Effendi's accepting anything from me; for I am convinced that, however amiable and friendly he may be, a man of his sanctity would not do anything forbidden by the law. I am at a loss, therefore, to know how I can meet his wishes." "Although," he rejoined, "there might perhaps be some difficulty on that score, yet it could be, I hope, overcome. More-

over, there are his attendants; they are not so particular as he is, and, thank God, we are all one. To each of them you might give a pair of yellow boots and a silk dress; besides, if you chance to have any pistols or daggers, they would be satisfied with them. As for me, I am a man of letters, and, having nothing to do with arms and boots, you might, therefore, show your approbation of my devotedness to your service, by giving me white linen for a turban, and a pair of breeches. The Effendi, however, would not object to a set of razors, because the handles are of ivory and the blades of steel; and it is stated in the Hadith that those materials do not absorb moisture*; besides, he would feel obliged if you could lend him a small sum — five purses, for instance, (Wallah, Billah, Tillah he would do the same for you at any time,) for which he would give you a note of hand." "It is very unfortunate," I replied, "that there is not a bazar in the village. I will make a list of all the articles you specify as proper to be given to the attendants and to yourself. But these can only be procured in Mosul, and two days would elapse before they could reach me. I could not think of taking up so much of the valuable time of the Mullah Effendi, whose absence must already have been sorely

* The Sheeas and some other sects, who scrupulously adhere to the precepts of the Koran and to the Hadith or sacred traditions, make a distinction between those things which may be used or touched by a Musulman after they have been in the hands of a Christian, and those which may not; this distinction depends upon whether they be, according to their doctors, absorbents or non-absorbents. If they are supposed to absorb moisture, they become unclean after contact with an unbeliever.

felt by his tribe. With regard to the money, for which, God forbid that I should think of taking any note of hand (praise be to God! we are on much too good terms for such formalities), and to the razors, I think it would give more convincing proof of my esteem for the Effendi, if I were myself to return his welcome visit, and be the bearer of suitable presents." Finding that a more satisfactory answer could not be obtained, the secretary retired with evident marks of disappointment in his face. A further attempt was made upon Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, and renewed again in the morning; but nothing more tangible could be procured. After staying four days, the Mullah Effendi Bey and his attendants, about twenty in number, mounted their horses and rode away. I was no more troubled with visits from Kurdish Chiefs.

The middle of March in Mesopotamia is the brightest epoch of spring. A new change had come over the face of the plain of Nimroud. Its pasture lands, known as the "Jaif," are renowned for their rich and luxuriant herbage. In times of quiet, the studs of the Pasha and of the Turkish authorities, with the horses of the cavalry and of the inhabitants of Mosul, are sent here to graze. Day by day they arrived in long lines. The Shemutti and Jehesh left their huts, and encamped on the greensward which surrounded the villages. The plain, as far as the eye could reach, was studded with the white pavilions of the Hytas and the black tents of the Arabs. Picketed around them were innumerable horses in gay trappings, struggling to release themselves from the bonds,

which restrained them from ranging over the green pastures.

Flowers of every hue enamelled the meadows; not thinly scattered over the grass as in northern climes, but in such thick and gathering clusters that the whole plain seemed a patchwork of many colours. The dogs, as they returned from hunting, issued from the long grass dyed red, yellow or blue, according to the flowers through which they had last forced their way.

The villages of Naifa and Nimroud were deserted, and I remained alone with Said, and my servants. The houses now began to swarm with vermin; we no longer slept under the roofs, and it was time to follow the example of the Arabs. I accordingly encamped on the edge of a large pond on the outskirts of Nimroud. Said accompanied me; and Salah, his young wife, a bright-eyed Arab girl, built up his shed, and watched and milked his diminutive flock of sheep and goats.

I was surrounded by Arabs, who had either pitched their tents, or, too poor to buy the black goat-hair cloth of which they are made, had erected small huts of reeds and dry grass.

When I returned in the evening after the labour of the day, I often sat at the door of my tent, and giving myself up to the full enjoyment of that calm and repose which are imparted to the senses by such scenes as these, I gazed listlessly on the varied groups before me. As the sun went down behind the low hills which separate the river from the desert — even their rocky sides had struggled to emulate the verdant

clothing of the plain — its receding rays were gradually withdrawn, like a transparent veil of light, from the landscape. Over the pure, cloudless sky was the glow of the last light. The great mound threw its dark shadow far across the plain. In the distance, and beyond the Zab, Keshaf, another venerable ruin, rose indistinctly into the evening mist. Still more distant, and still more indistinct was a solitary hill overlooking the ancient city of Arbela. The Kurdish mountains, whose snowy summits cherished the dying sunbeams, yet struggled with the twilight. The bleating of sheep and lowing of cattle, at first faint, became louder as the flocks returned from their pastures, and wandered amongst the tents. Girls hurried over the greensward to seek their fathers' cattle, or crouched down to milk those which had returned alone to their well-remembered folds. Some were coming from the river bearing the replenished pitcher on their heads or shoulders; others, no less graceful in their form, and erect in their carriage, were carrying the heavy load of long grass which they had cut in the meadows. Sometimes a party of horsemen might have been seen in the distance slowly crossing the plain, the tufts of ostrich feathers which topped their long spears showing darkly against the evening sky. They would ride up to my tent, and give me the usual salutation, "Peace be with you, O Bey," or, "Allah Aienak, God help you." Then driving the end of their lances into the ground, they would spring from their mares, and fasten their halters to the still quivering weapons. Seating themselves on the grass, they related deeds of

war and plunder, or speculated on the site of the tents of Sofuk, until the moon rose, when they vaulted into their saddles and took the way of the desert.

The plain now glittered with innumerable fires. As the night advanced, they vanished one by one until the landscape was wrapped in darkness and in silence, only disturbed by the barking of the Arab dog.

Abd-ur-rahman rode to my tent one morning, and offered to take me to a remarkable cutting in the rock, which he described as the work of Nimrod, the Giant. The Arabs call it "Negoub," or, The Hole. We were two hours in reaching the place, as we hunted gazelles and hares by the way. A tunnel, bored through the rock, opens by two low arched outlets, upon the river. It is of considerable length, and is continued for about a mile by a deep channel, also cut out of the rock, but open at the top. I suspected at once that this was an Assyrian work, and, on examining the interior of the tunnel, I discovered a slab covered with cuneiform characters, which had fallen in from a platform, and had been wedged in a crevice of the rock. With much difficulty I succeeded in ascertaining that an inscription was also cut on the back of the tablet. From the darkness of the place, I could scarcely copy even the few characters which had resisted the wear of centuries. Some days after, others who had casually heard of my visit, and conjectured that some Assyrian remains might have been found there, sent a party of workmen to the spot; who, finding the slab, broke it into pieces, in

their attempt to displace it. This wanton destruction of the tablet is much to be regretted; as, from the fragment of the inscription I copied, I can perceive that it contained an important, and, to me, new genealogical list of kings. I had intended to remove the stone carefully, and had hoped, by placing it in a proper light, to ascertain accurately the forms of the various characters upon it. This was not the only loss I had to complain of, from the jealousy and competition of rivals.

The tunnel of Negoub is undoubtedly a remarkable work, undertaken, as far as I can judge by the fragment of the inscription, during the reign of an Assyrian king of the latter dynasty, who may have raised the tablet to commemorate the completion of the work. Its object is rather uncertain. It may have been cut to lead the waters of the Zab into the surrounding country for irrigation; or it may have been the termination of the great canal, which is still to be traced by a double range of lofty mounds, near the ruins of Nimroud, and which may have united the Tigris with the neighbouring river, and thus fertilised a large tract of land. In either case, the level of the two rivers, as well as the face of the country, must have changed considerably since the period of its construction. At present Negoub is above the Zab, except at the time of the highest flood in the spring, and then water is only found in the mouth of the tunnel; all other parts having been much choked up with rubbish and river deposits.

CHAP. IV.

PREPARATIONS FOR A JOURNEY TO AL HATHER. — GATHERING OF THE CARAVAN. — LEAVE MOSUL. — THE DESERT. — FLOCKS OF CAMELS. — THE HADDEDEEN ARABS. — AN ARAB REPAST. — AN ENCAMPMENT. — AN ARAB TRIBE MOVING. — THE TENTS OF SOFUK. — DESCRIPTION OF THE SHAMMAR SHEIKH. — HIS HISTORY. — A COMMANDER OF THE IRREGULAR CAVALRY. — SOFUK'S HAREM AND WIVES. — HIS MARE. — RIDE TO AL HATHER. — ARAB GUIDES. — LOVE AMONGST ARABS. — THEIR WOMEN. — THE RUINS OF AL HATHER. — RETURN TO MOSUL. — MURDER OF NEJRIS — AND OF SOFUK.

THE operations at Nimroud having been completely suspended until I could receive assistance from Constantinople, I thought the time not inopportune to visit Sofuk, the Sheikh of the great Arab tribe of Shammar, which occupies nearly the whole of Mesopotamia. He had lately left the Kabour, and was now encamped near the western bank of the Tigris, below its junction with the Zab, and consequently not far from Nimroud. I had two objects in going to his tents; in the first place I wished to obtain the friendship of the chief of a large tribe of Arabs, who would probably cross the river in the neighbourhood of the excavations during the summer, and might indulge, to my cost, in their plundering propensities; and, at the same time, I was anxious to visit the remarkable ruins of Al Hather, which I had only examined very hastily on my former journey.

Mr. Rassam (the Vice-Consul) and his wife, with several native gentlemen of Mosul, Mussulmans and Christians, were induced to accompany me; and, as we

issued from the gates of the town, and assembled in the well-peopled burying-ground opposite the Governor's palace, I found myself at the head of a formidable party. Our tents, obtained from the Pasha, and our provisions and necessary furniture, were carried by a string of twelve camels. Mounted above these loads, and on donkeys, was an army of camel-drivers, tent-pitchers, and volunteers ready for all services. There were, moreover, a few irregular horsemen, the Cawasses, the attendants of the Mosul gentlemen, the Mosul gentlemen themselves, and our own servants, all armed to the teeth. Ali Effendi, chief of the Mosul branch of the Omeree, or descendants of Omar, which had furnished several Pashas to the province, was our principal Mussulman friend. He was mounted on the Hedban, a well-known white Arab, beautiful in form and pure in blood, but now of great age. Close at his horse's heels followed a confidential servant; who, perched on a pack-saddle, seemed to roll from side to side on two small barrels, the use of which might have been an enigma, had they not emitted a very strong smell of raki. A Christian gentleman was wrapped up in cloaks and furs, and appeared to dread the cold, although the thermometer was at 100. The English lady was equipped in riding-habit and hat. The two Englishmen, Mr. Ross and myself, wore a striking mixture of European and oriental raiments. Mosul ladies, in blue veils, their faces concealed by black horse-hair sieves, had been dragged to the top of piles of carpets and cushions, under which groaned their

unfortunate mules. Greyhounds in leashes were led by Arabs on foot; whilst others played with strange dogs, who followed the caravan for change of air. The horsemen galloped round and round, now dashing into the centre of the crowd, throwing their horses on their haunches when at full speed, or discharging their guns and pistols into the air. A small flag with British colours was fastened to the top of a spear, and confided to a Cawass. Such was the motley caravan which left Mosul by the Bab el Top, where a crowd of women had assembled to witness the procession.

We took the road to the ruins of the monastery of Mar Elias, a place of pilgrimage for the Christians of Mosul, which we passed after an hour's ride. Evening set in before we could reach the desert, and we pitched our tents for the night on a lawn near a deserted village, about nine miles from the town.

On the following morning we soon emerged from the low limestone hills; which, broken into a thousand rocky valleys, form a barrier between the Tigris and the plains of Mesopotamia. We now found ourselves in the desert, or rather wilderness; for at this time of the year, nature could not disclose a more varied scene, or a more luxuriant vegetation. We trod on an interminable carpet, figured by flowers of every hue. Nor was water wanting; for the abundant rains had given reservoirs to every hollow, and to every ravine. Their contents, owing to the nature of the soil, were brackish, but not unwholesome. Clusters of black tents were scattered, and flocks of sheep and camels

wandered, over the plain. Those of our party who were well mounted urged their horses through the meadows, pursuing the herds of gazelles, or the wild boar, skulking in the long grass. Although such scenes as these may be described, the exhilaration caused by the air of the desert in spring, and the feeling of freedom arising from the contemplation of its boundless expanse, must have been experienced before they can be understood. The stranger, as well as the Arab, feels the intoxication of the senses which they produce. From their effects upon the wandering son of Ishmael, they might well have been included by the Prophet amongst those things forbidden to the true believer.

The first object we had in view was to discover the tents of Sofuk. The Sheikh had been lately exposed to demands on the part of the governors of Mosul and Baghdad; and, moreover, an open hostility to his authority had arisen amongst the Shammar tribes. He was consequently keeping out of sight, and seeking the most secluded spots in the desert to pitch his tents. We asked our way of the parties of Arab horsemen, whom we met roving over the plain; but received different answers from each. Some were ignorant; others fancied that our visit might be unacceptable, and endeavoured to deceive us.

About mid-day we found ourselves in the midst of extensive herds of camels. They belonged to the Haddedeen. The sonorous whoop of the Arab herdsmen resounded from all sides. A few horsemen were galloping about, driving back the stragglers, and di-

recting the march of the leaders of the herd. Shortly after we came up with some families moving to a new place of encampment, and at their head I recognised my old antiquity hunter, Mormous. He no sooner perceived us than he gave orders to those who followed him, and of whom he was the chief, to pitch the tents. We were now in the Wadi Ghusub, formed by a small salt stream, which forces its sluggish way through a dense mass of reeds and water shrubs, from whence the valley has taken its name. About fifteen tents were soon raised. A sheep was slaughtered in front of the one in which we sat; large wooden bowls of sour milk, and platters of fresh butter were placed before us; fires of camel's dung were lighted; decrepit old women blew up the flames; the men cut the carcase into small pieces, and capacious cauldrons soon sent forth volumes of steam.

Mormous tended the sheep of Ali Effendi, our travelling companion, as well as his own. * The two were soon in discussion, as to the amount of butter and wool produced. Violent altercations arose on the subject of missing beasts. Heavy responsibilities, which the Effendi did not seem inclined to admit, were thrown upon the wolves. Some time elapsed be-

* It is customary for the inhabitants of Mosul possessing flocks to confide them to the Haddedeen Arabs, who take them into the desert during the winter and spring, and pasture them in the low hills to the east of the town during the summer and autumn. The produce of the sheep, the butter and wool, is divided between the owner and the Arab in charge of them; the sour milk, curds, &c., are left to the latter. In case of death the Arab brings the ears, and takes an oath that they belong to the missing animal.

fore these vital questions were settled to the satisfaction of both parties; ears having been produced, oaths taken, and witnesses called, with the assistance of wolves and the rot, the diminution in the flocks was fully accounted for.

The sheep was now boiled. The Arabs pulled the fragments out of the cauldron and laid them on wooden platters with their fingers. We helped ourselves after the same fashion. The servants succeeded to the dishes, which afterwards passed through the hands of the camel drivers and tent pitchers; and at last, denuded of all apparently edible portions, reached a strong party of expectant Arabs. The condition of the bones by the time they were delivered to a crowd of hungry dogs, assembled on the occasion, may easily be imagined.

We resumed our journey in the afternoon, preceded by Mormous, who volunteered to accompany us. As we rode over the plain, we fell in with the Sheikh of the Haddedeen, mounted on a fine mare, and followed by a large concourse of Arabs, driving their beasts of burden loaded with tents and furniture. He offered to conduct us to a branch of the Shammar, whose encampment we could reach before evening. We gladly accepted his offer, and he left his people to ride with us.

We had been wandering to and fro in the desert, uncertain as to the course we should pursue. The Sheikh now rode in the direction of the Tigris. Before nightfall we came to a large encampment, and recognised in its chief one Khalaf, an Arab who fre-

quently came to Mosul, and whom Mr. Rassam and myself had met on our previous journey to Al Hather. His tribe, although a branch of the Shammar, usually encamp near the town; and avoid, if possible, the broils which divide their brethren. Strong enough to defend themselves against the attacks of other Arabs, and generally keeping at a sufficient distance from Mosul to be out of reach of the devastating arm of its governors, they have become comparatively wealthy. Their flocks of sheep and camels are numerous, and their Sheikhs boast some of the finest horses and mares in Mesopotamia.

Sheikh Khalaf received us with hospitality; sheep were immediately slaughtered, and we dismounted at his tent. Even his wives, amongst whom was a remarkably pretty Arab girl, came to us to gratify their curiosity by a minute examination of the Frank lady. As the intimacy, which began to spring up, was somewhat inconvenient, we directed our tents to be pitched at a distance from the encampment, by the side of a small stream. It was one of those calm and pleasant evenings, which in spring make a paradise of the desert. The breeze, bland and perfumed by the odour of flowers, came calmly over the plain. As the sun went down, countless camels and sheep wandered to the tents, and the melancholy call of the herdsmen rose above the bleating of the flocks. The Arabs led their prancing mares to the water; the colts, as they followed, played and rolled on the grass. I spread my carpet at a distance from the group, to enjoy uninterrupted the varied scene. Ras-

sam, now in his element, collected around him a knot of wondering Arabs, unscrewed telescopes, exhibited various ingenious contrivances, and described the wonders of Europe, interrupted by the exclamations of incredulous surprise, which his marvellous stories elicited from the hearers. Ali Effendi and his Mussulman friends, who preferred other pleasures and more definite excitement, hid themselves in the high rushes, and handed round a small silver bowl containing fragrant ruby-coloured spirits, which might have rejoiced even the heart of Hafiz. The camel-drivers and servants hurried over the lawn, tending their animals or preparing for the evening meal.

We had now reached the pasture-grounds of the Shammar, and Sheikh Khalaf declared that Sofuk's tents could not be far distant. A few days before they had been pitched almost amongst the ruins of Al Hather; but he had since left them, and it was not known where he had encamped. We started early in the morning, and took the direction pointed out by Khalaf. Our view was bounded to the east by a rising ground. When we reached its summit, we looked down upon a plain, which appeared to swarm with moving objects. We had come upon the main body of the Shammar. It would be difficult to describe the appearance of a large tribe, like that we now met, when migrating to new pastures. The scene caused in me feelings of melancholy, for it recalled many hours, perhaps unprofitably, though certainly happily spent; and many friends, some who now sighed in captivity for the joyous freedom which

those wandering hordes enjoyed; others who had perished in its defence. We soon found ourselves in the midst of wide-spreading flocks of sheep and camels. As far as the eye could reach, to the right, to the left, and in front, still the same moving crowd. Long lines of asses and bullocks laden with black tents, huge cauldrons and variegated carpets; aged women and men, no longer able to walk, tied on the heap of domestic furniture; infants crammed into saddle-bags, their tiny heads thrust through the narrow opening, balanced on the animal's back by kids or lambs tied on the opposite side; young girls clothed only in the close-fitting Arab shirt, which displayed rather than concealed their graceful forms; mothers with their children on their shoulders; boys driving flocks of lambs; horsemen armed with their long tufted spears, scouring the plain on their fleet mares; riders urging their dromedaries with their short hooked sticks, and leading their high-bred steeds by the halter; colts galloping amongst the throng; high-born ladies seated in the centre of huge wings, which extend like those of a butterfly from each side of the camel's hump, and are no less gaudy and variegated. Such was the motley crowd through which we had to wend our way for several hours. Our appearance created a lively sensation; the women checked our horses; the horsemen assembled round us, and rode by our side; the children yelled and ran after the Franks.

It was mid-day before we found a small party that had stopped, and were pitching their tents. A young

chesnut mare belonging to the Sheikh, was one of the most beautiful creatures I ever beheld. As she struggled to free herself from the spear to which she was tied, she showed the lightness and elegance of the gazelle. Her limbs were in perfect symmetry; her ears long, slender and transparent; her nostrils high, dilated and deep red; her neck gracefully arched, and her main and tail of the texture of silk. We all involuntarily stopped to gaze at her. "Say Masha-Allah," exclaimed the owner, who, seeing not without pride, that I admired her, feared the effect of an evil eye. "That I will," answered I, "and with pleasure; for, O Arab, you possess the jewel of the tribe." He brought us a bowl of camel's milk, and directed us to the tents of Sofuk.

We had still two hours' ride before us, and when we reached the encampment of the Shammar Sheikh, our horses, as well as ourselves, were exhausted by the heat of the sun, and the length of the day's journey. The tents were pitched on a broad lawn in a deep ravine; they were scattered in every direction, and amongst them rose the white pavilions of the Turkish irregular cavalry. Ferhan, the son of Sofuk, and a party of horsemen, rode out to meet us as we approached, and led us to the tent of the chief, distinguished from the rest by its size, and the spears which were driven into the ground at its entrance. Sofuk advanced to receive us; he was followed by about three hundred Arabs, including many of the principal Sheikhs of the tribe. In person he was short and corpulent, more like an Osmanli than an Arab;

but his eye was bright and intelligent, his features regular, well formed and expressive. His dress differed but in the quality of the materials from that of his followers. A thick kerchief, striped with red, yellow, and blue, and fringed with long platted cords, was thrown over his head, and fell down his shoulders. It was held in its place, above the brow, by a band of spun camel's wool, tied at intervals by silken threads of many colours. A long white shirt, descending to the ankles, and a black and white cloak over it, completed his attire.

He led Rassam and myself to the top of the tent, where we seated ourselves on well-worn carpets. When all the party had found places, the words of welcome, which had been exchanged before we dismounted, were repeated. "Peace be with you, O Bey! upon my head you are welcome; my house is your house," exclaimed the Sheikh, addressing the stranger nearest to him. "Peace be with you, O Sofuk! may God protect you!" was the answer, and similar compliments were made to every guest and by every person present. Whilst this ceremony, which took nearly half an hour, was going on, I had leisure to examine those who had assembled to meet us. Nearest to me was Ferhan, the Sheikh's son, a young man of handsome appearance and intelligent countenance, although the expression was neither agreeable nor attractive. His dress resembled that of his father; but from beneath the handkerchief thrown over his head hung his long black tresses platted into many tails. His teeth were white as

ivory, like those of most Arabs. Beyond him sat a crowd of men of the most ferocious and forbidding exterior—warriors who had passed their lives in war and rapine, looking upon those who did not belong to their tribe as natural enemies, and preferring their wild freedom to all the riches of the earth.

Mrs. Rassam had been ushered into this crowded assembly, and the scrutinising glance with which she was examined from head to foot, by all present, was not agreeable. We requested that she might be taken to the tent of the women. Sofük called two black slaves, who led her to the harem, scarcely a stone's-throw distant.

The compliments having been at length finished, we conversed upon general topics. Coffee, highly drugged with odoriferous roots found in the desert, and with spices, a mixture for which Sofuk has long been celebrated, was handed round before we retired to our own tents.

Sofuk's name was so well known in the desert, and he so long played a conspicuous part in the politics of Mesopotamia, that a few words on his history may not be uninteresting. He was descended from the Sheikhs, who brought the tribe from Nedjd. At the commencement of his career he had shared the chiefship with his uncle, after whose death he became the great Sheikh of the Shammar. From an early period he had been troublesome to the Turkish governors, of the provinces on the Tigris and Euphrates; but gained the applause and confidence of the Porte by a spirited attack which he made upon the camp of

Mohammed Ali Mirza, son of Feth Ali Shah, and governor of Kirmanshah, when that prince was marching upon Baghdad and Mosul. After this exploit, to which was mainly attributed the safety of the Turkish cities, Sofuk was invested as Sheikh of the Shammar. At times, however, when he had to complain of ill-treatment from the Pasha of Baghdad, or could not controul those under him, his tribes were accustomed to indulge their love of plunder, to sack villages and pillage caravans. He thus became formidable to the Turks, and was known as the King of the Desert. When Mehemet Reshid Pasha led his successful expedition into Kurdistan and Mesopotamia, Sofuk was amongst the chiefs whose power he sought to destroy. He knew that it would be useless to attempt it by force, and he consequently invited the Sheikh to his camp on the pretence of investing him with the customary robe of honour. He was seized and sent a prisoner to Constantinople. Here he remained some months, until deceived by his promises, the Porte permitted him to return to his tribes. From that time his Arabs had generally been engaged in plunder, and all efforts to subdue them had failed. They had been the terror of the Pashalics of Mosul and Baghdad, and had even carried their depredations to the east of the Tigris. However, Nejris, the son of Sofuk's uncle, had appeared as his rival, and many branches of the Shammar had declared for the new Sheikh. This led to dissensions in the tribe; and, at the time of our visit, Sofuk, who had forfeited his popularity by many acts of treachery,

was almost deserted by the Arabs. In this dilemma he had applied to the Pasha of Mosul, and had promised to serve the Porte and to repress the depredations of the tribes, if he were assisted in re-establishing his authority. This state of things accounted for the presence of the white tents of the Hytas in the midst of the encampment.

His intercourse with the Turkish authorities, who must be conciliated by adequate presents before assistance can be expected from them; and the famine, which for the last two years had prevailed in the countries surrounding the desert, were not favourable to the domestic prosperity of Sofuk. The wealth and display, for which he was once renowned amongst the Arabs, had disappeared. A few months before, he had even sent to Mosul the silver ankle-rings of his favourite wife — the last resource — to be exchanged for corn. The furred cloaks, and embroidered robe, which he once wore, had not been replaced. The only carpet in his tent was the rag on which sat his principal guests; the rest squatted on the grass, or on the bare ground. He led the life of a pure Bedouin, from the commonest of whom he was only distinguished by the extent of his female establishment — always a weak point with the Sheikh. But even in his days of greatest prosperity, the meanest Arab looked upon him as his equal, addressed him as "Sofuk," and seated himself unbidden in his presence. The system of patriarchal government, faithfully described by Burckhardt, still exists, as it has done for 4000 years, in the desert. Although the

Arabs for convenience recognise one man as their chief; yet any unpopular or oppressive act on his part at once dissolves their allegiance; and they seek, in another, a more just and trustworthy leader. Submitting, for a time, to contributions demanded by the Sheikh, if they believe them to be necessary for the honour and security of the tribe, they consider themselves the sole judges of that necessity. The chief is consequently always unwilling to risk his authority by asking for money, or horses, from those under him. He can only govern as long as he has the majority in his favour. He moves his tent; and others, who are not of his own family, follow him if they think proper. If his ascendancy is great, and he can depend upon his majority, he may commit acts of bloodshed and oppression, becoming an arbitrary ruler; but such things are not forgotten by the Arabs, or seldom in the end go unpunished. Of this Sofuk himself was, as it will be seen hereafter, an example.

The usual Arab meal was brought to us soon after our arrival — large wooden bowls and platters filled with boiled fragments of mutton swimming in melted butter, and sour milk.

When our breakfast was removed, the chief of the Hytas called upon us. I had known him at Mosul; he was the commander of the irregular troops stationed at Selamiyah, and had been the instrument of the late Pasha in my first troubles, as he now good-humouredly avowed. He was called Ibraham Agha, Goorgi Oglu, or the son of the Georgian, from his Christian origin. In his person he was short;

his features were regular, and his eyes bright; his compressed brow, and a sneer, which continually curled his lip, well marked the character of the man. In appearance he was the type of his profession; his loose jacket, tight under vest, and capacious shalwars, were covered with a mass of gold embroidery; the shawls round his head and waist were of the richest texture and gayest colours; the arms in his girdle of the costliest description, and his horses and mares were renowned. His daring and courage had made him the favourite of Mohammed Pasha; and he was chiefly instrumental in reducing to obedience the turbulent inhabitants of Mosul and Kurdistan, during the struggle between that governor and the hereditary chiefs of the province. One of his exploits deserves notice. Some years ago there lived in the Island of Zakko, formed by the river Khabour, and in a castle of considerable strength, a Kurdish Bey of great power and influence. Whilst his resistance to the authority of the Porte called for the interference of Mohammed Pasha, the reports of his wealth were no mean incentives to an expedition against him. All attempts, however, to seize him and reduce his castle had failed. At the time of my first visit to Mesopotamia he still lived as an independent chief, and I enjoyed for a night his hospitality. He was one of the last in this part of Kurdistan who kept up the ancient customs of the feudal chieftains. His spacious hall, hung around with arms of all kinds, with the spreading antlers of the stag and the long knotted horns of the ibex, was filled every evening with guests and strangers. After

sunset the floor was covered with dishes overflowing with various messes. The Bey sat on cushions at the top of the hall, and by him were placed the most favoured guests. After dinner he retired to his harem; every one slept where it was most convenient to himself, and rising at daybreak, went his way without questions from his host. The days of the chief were spent in war and plunder, and half the country had claims of blood against him. "Will no one deliver me from that Kurdish dog?" exclaimed Mohammed Pasha one day in his salamlik, after an ineffectual attempt to reduce Zakko; "By God and his Prophet, the richest cloak of honour shall be for him who brings me his head." Ibrahim Agha, who was standing amongst the Pasha's courtiers, heard the offer and left the room. Assembling a few of his bravest followers, he took the road to the mountains. Concealing all his men, but six or eight, in the gardens outside the small town of Zakko, he entered after nightfall the castle of the Kurdish chief. He was received as a guest, and the customary dishes of meat were placed before him. After he had eaten he rose from his seat, and advancing towards his host, fired his long pistol within a few feet of the breast of the Bey, and drawing his sabre, severed the head from the body. The Kurds, amazed at this unparalleled audacity, offered no resistance. A signal from the roof was answered by the men outside; the innermost recesses of the castle were rifled, and the Georgian returned to Mosul with the head and wealth of the Kurdish chieftain. The Castle of Zakko

was suffered to fall into decay; Turkish rule succeeded to Kurdish independence; and a few starving Jews are now alone found amongst the heap of ruins.

But this is not the last deed of daring of Ibrahim Agha: Sofuk himself, now his host, was destined likewise to become his victim.

After the Hyta-bashi had retired, Sofuk came to our tents and remained with us the greater part of the day. He was dejected and sad. He bewailed his poverty, inveighed against the Turks, to whom he attributed his ruin, and confessed, with tears, that his tribe was fast deserting him. Whilst conversing on these subjects, two Sheikhs rode into the encampment, and hearing that the chief was with us, they fastened their high-bred mares at the door of our tent and seated themselves on our carpets. They had been amongst the tribes to ascertain the feeling of the Shammar towards Sofuk, of whom they were the devoted adherents. One was a man of forty, blackened by long exposure to the desert sun, and of a savage and sanguinary countenance. His companion was a youth, his features were so delicate and feminine, and his eyes so bright that he might have been taken for a woman; the deception would not have been lessened by a profusion of black hair which fell, platted into numerous tresses, on his breast and shoulders. An animated discussion took place as to the desertion of the Nejm, a large branch of the Shammar tribe. The young man's enthusiasm and devotedness knew no bounds. He threw himself upon Sofuk, and clinging to his neck covered his cheek and beard

with kisses. When the chief had disengaged himself, his follower seized the edge of his garment, and sobbed violently as he held it to his lips. "I entreat thee, O Sofuk!" he exclaimed, "say but the word; by thine eyes, by thy beard, by the Prophet, order it, and this sword shall find the heart of Nejris, whether he escape into the farthest corner of the desert, or be surrounded by all the warriors of the tribe." But it was too late, and Sofuk saw that his influence in the tribe was fast declining.

Mrs. Rassam, having returned from her visit to the ladies, described her reception. I must endeavour to convey to the reader some idea of the domestic establishment of a great Arab Sheikh. Sofuk, at the time of our visit, was the husband of three wives, who were considered to have special claims to his affection and his constant protection; for it was one of Sofuk's weaknesses, arising either from a desire to impress the Arabs with a notion of his greatness and power, or from a partiality to the first stage of married life, to take a new partner nearly every month; and at the end of that period to divorce her, and marry her to one of his attendants. The happy man thus lived in a continual honeymoon. Of the three ladies now forming his harem, the chief was Amsha, a lady celebrated in the song of every Arab of the desert, for her beauty and noble blood. She was daughter of Hassan, Sheikh of the Tai, a tribe tracing its origin from the remotest antiquity, and one of whose chiefs, Hatem, her ancestor, is a hero of Eastern romance. Sofuk had carried her away by force from her father; but had always treated her with great respect. From her

rank and beauty she had earned the title of "Queen of the Desert." Her form, traceable through the thin shirt which she wore like other Arab women, was well proportioned and graceful. She was tall in stature, and fair in complexion. Her features were regular, and her eyes dark and brilliant. She had undoubtedly claims to more than ordinary beauty; to the Arabs she was perfection, for all the resources of their art had been exhausted to complete what nature had begun. Her lips were dyed deep blue, her eyelids were continued in indigo until they united over the nose, her cheeks and forehead were spotted with beauty-marks, her eyelashes darkened by kohl; and on her legs and bosom could be seen the tattooed ends of flowers and fanciful ornaments, which were carried in festoons and network over her whole body. Hanging from each ear, and reaching to her waist, was an enormous earring of gold, terminating in a tablet of the same material, carved and ornamented with four turquoises. Her nose was also adorned with a prodigious gold ring, set with jewels, of such ample dimensions that it covered the mouth, and was to be removed when the lady ate. Ponderous rows of strung beads, Assyrian cylinders, fragments of coral, agates, and parti-coloured stones, hung from her neck; loose silver rings encircled her wrists and ankles, making a loud jingling as she walked. Over her blue shirt was thrown, when she issued from her tent, a coarse striped cloak, and a common black handkerchief was tied round her head.

Her ménage combined, if the old song be true, the

domestic and the queenly, and was carried on with a nice appreciation of economy. The immense sheet of black goat-hair canvass, which formed the tent, was supported by twelve or fourteen stout poles, and was completely open on one side. Being entirely set apart for the women it had no partitions, as in the tent of the common Arab, who is obliged to reserve a corner for the reception of his guests. Between the centre poles were placed, upright and close to one another, large camel or goat-hair sacks, filled with rice, corn, barley, coffee, and other household stuff; their mouths being, of course, upwards. Upon them were spread carpets and cushions, on which Amsha reclined. Around her, squatted on the ground, were some fifty handmaidens, tending the wide cauldron, baking bread on the iron plate heated over the ashes, or shaking between them the skin suspended between three stakes, and filled with milk, to be thus churned into butter. It is the privilege of the head wife to prepare in her tent the dinners of the Sheikh's guests. The fires, lighted on all sides, sent forth a cloud of smoke, which hung heavily under the folds of the tent, and would have long before dimmed any eyes less bright than those of Amsha. As supplies were asked for by the women she lifted the corner of her carpet, untied the mouths of the sacks, and distributed their contents. Everything passed through her hands. To show her authority and rank she poured continually upon her attendants a torrent of abuse, and honoured them with epithets of which I may be excused attempting to give a translation;

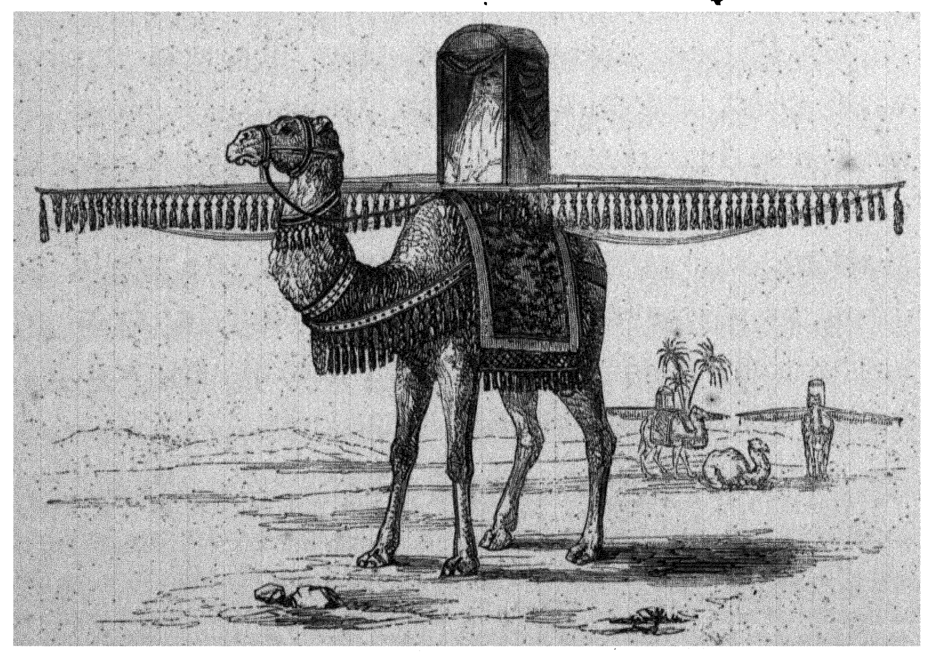
her vocabulary equalling, if not exceeding, in richness that of the highly educated lady of the city.* The combination of the domestic and authoritative was thus complete. Her children, three naked little urchins, black with sun and mud, and adorned with a long tail hanging from the crown of their heads, rolled in the ashes or on the grass.

Amsha, as I have observed, shared the affections, though not the tent of Sofuk—for each establishment had a tent of its own—with two other ladies; Atouia, an Arab not much inferior to her rival in personal appearance; and Ferrah, originally a Yezidi slave, who had no pretensions to beauty. Amsha, however, always maintained her sway, and the others could not sit, without her leave, in her presence. To her alone were confided the keys of the larder—supposing Sofuk to have had either keys or larder—and there was no appeal from her authority on all subjects of domestic economy.

Mrs. Rassam informed me that she was received with great ceremony by the ladies. To show the rank and luxurious habits of her husband, Amsha offered her guest a glass of "eau sucrée," which Mrs. Rassam, who is over-nice, assured me she could not drink, as it was mixed by a particularly dirty negro, in the absence of a spoon, with his fingers, which he sucked continually during the process.

* It may not perhaps be known that the fair inmate of the harem, whom we picture to ourselves conversing with her lover in language, too delicate and refined to be expressed by anything else but flowers, uses ordinarily words which would shock the ears of even the most depraved amongst us.

When the tribe is changing its pastures, the ladies of the Sheikhs are placed on the backs of dromedaries in the centre of the most extraordinary contrivance that man's ingenuity, and a love of the picturesque, could have invented. A light framework, varying from sixteen to twenty feet in length, stretches across the hump of the camel. It is brought to a point at each end, and the outer rods are joined by distended parchment; two pouches of gigantic pelicans seem to spring from the sides of the animal. In the centre, and over the hump, rises a small pavilion, under which is seated the lady. The whole machine, as well as the neck and body of the camel, is ornamented with tassels and fringes of worsted of every hue, and with strings of glass beads and shells. It sways from side to side as the beast labours under the unwieldy burthen; looking, as it appears above the horizon, like some stupendous butterfly skimming slowly over the plain.



H. A. Layard.

A SHAMMAR LADY ON A CAMEL.

In the evening Amsha and Ferrah returned Mrs. Rassam's visit; Sofuk having, however, first obtained a distinct promise that they were not to be received in a tent where gentlemen were to be admitted. They were very inquisitive, and their indiscreet curiosity could with difficulty be satisfied.

I may mention that Sofuk was the owner of a mare of matchless beauty, called, as if the property of the tribe, the Shammeriyah. Her dam, who died about ten years ago, was the celebrated Kubleh, whose renown extended from the sources of the Khabour to the end of the Arabian promontory, and the day of whose death is the epoch from which the Arabs of Mesopotamia now date the events concerning their tribe. Mohammed Emin, Sheikh of the Jebour, assured me that he had seen Sofuk ride down the wild ass of the Sinjar on her back, and the most marvellous stories are current in the desert as to her fleetness and powers of endurance. Sofuk esteemed her and her daughter above all the riches of the tribe; for her he would have forfeited all his wealth, and even Amsha herself. Owing to the visit of the irregular troops, the best horses of the Sheikh and his followers were concealed in a secluded ravine at some distance from the tents.

Al Hather was about eighteen miles from Sofuk's encampment. He gave us two well-known horsemen to accompany us to the ruins. Their names were Dathan and Abiram. The former was a black slave, to whom the Sheikh had given his liberty and a wife— two things, it may be observed, which are in the desert perfectly consistent. He was the most faithful and

brave of all the adherents of Sofuk, and the fame of his exploits had spread through the tribes of Arabia. As we rode along, I endeavoured to obtain from him some information concerning his people, but he would only speak on one subject. "Ya Bej," * said he, "the Arab only thinks of two things, war and love: war, Ya Bej, every one understands; let us, therefore, talk of love;" and he dwelt upon the beauties of Arab maidens in glowing language, and on the rich reward they offered to him who has distinguished himself in the foray or the fight. He then told me how a lover first loved, and how he made his love known. An Arab's affections are quickly bestowed upon any girl that may have struck his fancy as she passed him, when bearing water from the springs, or when moving to fresh pastures. Nothing can equal the suddenness of his first attachment, but its ardour. He is ready to die for her, and gives himself up to desperate feats, or to deep melancholy. The maiden, or the lady of his love, is ignorant of the sentiment she has unconsciously inspired. The lover therefore seeks to acquaint her with his passion. He speaks to a distant relation, or to a member of the tribe who has access to the harem of the tent which she occupies; and after securing his secrecy by an oath, he confesses his love, and entreats his confidant to arrange an interview. If the person addressed consents to talk to the woman, he goes to her when she is alone, and

* "Ya Bej," O my Lord; he so prefaced every sentence. The Shammar Arabs pronounce the word Beg, which the Constantinopolitans soften into Bey, Bej.

gathering a flower or a blade of grass, he says to her, "Swear by him who made this flower and us also, that you will not reveal to any one that which I am about to unfold to you." If she be not disposed to encourage the addresses of any lover, or if in other cases she be virtuous, she refuses and goes her way, but will never disclose what has passed; otherwise she answers, "I swear by him who made the leaf you now hold and us," and the man settles a place and time of meeting. Oaths taken under these circumstances are seldom, if ever, broken.

The Shammar women are not celebrated for their chastity. Some time after our visit to Sofuk, Mohammed Emin, Sheikh of the Jebour, was a guest at his tents. Some altercation arising between him and Ferhan, he called the son of the chief "a liar." "What manner of unclean fellow art thou," exclaimed Sofuk, "to address thus a Sheikh of the Shammar? Dost thou not know that there is not a village in the pashalic of Mosul in which the Arab name is not dishonoured by a woman of the Jebour?" "That may be," replied the indignant chief; "but canst thou point out, O Sofuk, a man of the Nejm who can say that his father is not of the Jebour?" This reproach, which the fame of the large branch of the Shammar to which he alluded warranted to a certain extent, so provoked Sofuk, that he sprang upon his feet, and, drawing his sword, would have murdered his guest had not those who sat in the tent interposed.

The system of marriages, and the neglect with

which women are treated, cannot but be productive of bad results. If an Arab suspects the fidelity of his wife, and obtains such proof as is convincing to him, he may kill her on the spot; but he generally prefers concealing his dishonour from the tribe, as an exposure would be looked upon as bringing shame upon himself. Sometimes he merely divorces her, which can be done by thrice repeating a certain formula. The woman has most to fear from her own relations, who generally put her to death if she has given a bad name, as they term it, to the family.

As we rode to Al Hather, we passed large bodies of the Shammar moving with their tents, flocks, and families. On all sides appeared the huge expanding wings of the camel, such as I have described. Dathan was known to all. As the horsemen approached, they dismounted and embraced him, kissing him, as is customary, on both cheeks, and holding him by the hand until many compliments had been exchanged.

A dark thunder-cloud rose behind the time-worn ruins of Al Hather as we approached them. The sun, still throwing its rays upon the walls and palace, lighted up the yellow stones until they shined like gold.* Mr. Ross and myself, accompanied by an Arab, urged our horses onwards, that we might escape the coming storm; but it burst upon us in its

* The rich golden tint of the limestone, of which the great monuments of Syria are built, is known to every traveller in that country. The ruins of Al Hather have the same bright colour; they look as if they had been steeped in the sunbeams.

fury ere we reached the palace. The lightning played through the vast buildings, the thunder re-echoed through its deserted halls, and the hail compelled us to rein up our horses, and turn our backs to the tempest. It was a fit moment to enter such ruins as these. They rose in solitary grandeur in the midst of a desert, "in mediâ solitudine positæ," as they stood fifteen centuries before, when described by the Roman historian.* On my previous visit, the first view I obtained of Al Hather was perhaps no less striking. We had been wandering for three days in the wilderness without seeing one human habitation. On the fourth morning a thick mist hung over the place. We had given up the search when the vapours were drawn up like a curtain, and we saw the ruins before us. At that time within the walls were the tents of some Shammar Arabs, but now as we crossed the confused heaps of fragments, forming a circle round the city, we saw that the place was tenantless. Flocks on a neighbouring rising ground showed, however, that Arabs were not distant.

We pitched our tents in the great court-yard, in front of the palace, and near the entrance to the inner inclosure. During the three days we remained amongst the ruins I had ample time to take accurate measurements, and to make plans of the various buildings still partly standing within the walls. As Al Hather has already been described by others, and as the information I was able to collect has been placed

* Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 25. cap. 8.

before the public *, I need not detain the reader with a detailed account of the place. Suffice it to mention, that the walls of the city, flanked by numerous towers, form almost a complete circle, in the centre of which rises the palace, an edifice of great magnificence, solidly constructed of squared stones, and elaborately sculptured with figures and ornaments. It dates probably from the reign of one of the Sassanian Kings of Persia, certainly not prior to the Arsacian dynasty, although the city itself was, I have little doubt, founded at a very early period. The marks upon all the stones, which appear to be either a builder's sign or to have reference to some religious observance, are found in most of the buildings of Sassanian origin in Persia, Babylonia, and Susiana.†

With the exception of occasional alarms in the night, caused by thieves attempting to steal the horses, we were not disturbed during our visit. The Arabs from the tents in the neighbourhood brought us milk, butter, and sheep. We drank the water of the Thathar, which is, however, rather salt; and our servants and camel-drivers filled during the day many baskets with truffles.

On our return we crossed the desert, reaching

* See Dr. Ross's Memoir in the Geographical Society's Journal, and Dr. Ainsworth's Travels. A memoir on the subject, accompanied by plans, &c., was read before the Institute of British Architects, and partly printed in a number of the Builder.

† Many of these marks are given in Mr. Ainsworth's Memoir in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. They are not letters of any one particular alphabet, but they are signs of all kinds. I discovered similar marks at Bisutun, Isphahan, Shuster, and other places in Persia where Sassanian buildings appear to have existed.

Wadi Ghusub the first night, and Mosul on the following morning. Dathan and Abiram, who had both distinguished themselves in recent foraging parties, and had consequently accounts to settle with the respectable merchants of the place, the balance being very much against them, could not be prevailed upon to enter the town, where they were generally known. We had provided ourselves with two or three dresses of Damascus silk, and we invested our guides as a mark of satisfaction for their services. Dathan grinned a melancholy smile as he received his reward. "Ya Bej," he exclaimed, as he turned his mare towards the desert; "may God give you peace! Wallah, your camels shall be as the camels of the Shammar. Be they laden with gold, they shall pass through our tents, and our people shall not touch them."

A year after our visit the career of Sofuk was brought to its close. The last days of his life may serve to illustrate the manners of the country, and the policy of those who are its owners. I have mentioned that Nejris, Sofuk's rival, had obtained the support of nearly the whole tribe of Shammar. In a month Sofuk found himself nearly alone. His relations and immediate adherents, amongst whom were Dathan and Abiram, still pitched their tents with him, but he feared the attacks of his enemies, and retreated for safety into the territory of Beder Khan Bey, to the East of the Tigris, near Jezirah. He sent his son Ferhan with a few presents, and with promises of more substantial gifts in case of success, to

claim the countenance and support of Nejib Pasha of Baghdad, under whose authority the Shammar are supposed to be. The Pasha honoured the young Sheikh with his favour, and invested him as chief of the tribe, to the exclusion of Sofuk, whom he knew to be unpopular; but who still, it was understood, was to govern as the real head of the Shammar. He also promised to send a strong military force to the assistance of Ferhan, to enable him to enforce obedience amongst the Arabs.

The measures taken by Nejib Pasha had the effect of bringing back a part of the tribe to Sofuk, who now proposed to Nejris, that they should meet at his tents, forget their differences, and share equally the Sheikhship of the Shammar. Nejris would not accept the invitation; he feared the treachery of a man, who had already forfeited his good name as an Arab. Sofuk prevailed upon his son to visit his rival. He hoped through the means of the young chief, who was less unpopular and more trusted than himself, to induce Nejris to accept the terms he had offered, and to come to his encampment. Ferhan refused, and was only persuaded to undertake the mission after his father had pledged himself, by a solemn oath, to respect the laws of hospitality. He rode to the tents of Nejris, who received him with affection, but refused to trust himself in the power of Sofuk, until Ferhan had given his own word that no harm should befall him. "I would not have gone," said he, "to the tents of Sofuk, had he sworn a thousand oaths; but to show you, Ferhan, that I have confidence in

your word, I will ride with you alone;" and he mounted his mare, and, unaccompanied by any of his attendants, followed Ferhan to the encampment of his father.

His reception showed him at once that he had been betrayed. Sofuk sat in gloomy silence, surrounded by several of the most desperate of his tribe. He rose not to receive his guest, but beckoned him to a place by his side. Ferhan trembled as he looked on the face of his father; but Nejris undaunted advanced into the circle, and seated himself where he had been bidden. Sofuk at once upbraided him as a rebel to his authority, and sought the excuse of a quarrel. As Nejris answered boldly, the occasion was not long wanting. Sofuk sprang to his feet, and drawing his sword threw himself upon his rival. In vain Ferhan appealed to his father's honour, to the laws of hospitality, so sacred to the Arab; in vain he entreated him not to disgrace his son by shedding the blood of one whom he had brought to his tents. Nejris sought protection of Hajar, the uncle of Sofuk, and clung to his garments; but he was one of the most treacherous and bloodthirsty of the Shammar. Upon this man's knee was the head of the unfortunate Sheikh held down, whilst Sofuk slew him as he would have slain a sheep. The rage of the murderer was now turned against his son, who stood at the entrance of the tent tearing his garments, and calling down curses upon the head of his father. The reeking sword would have been dipped in his blood, had not those who were present interfered.

The Shammar were amazed and disgusted by this act of perjury and treachery. The hospitality of an Arab tent had been violated, and disgrace had been brought upon the tribe. A deed so barbarous and so perfidious had been unknown. They withdrew a second time from Sofuk, and placed themselves under a new leader, a relation of the murdered Sheikh. Sofuk again appealed to Nejib Pasha, justifying his treachery by the dissensions which would have divided the tribe, and would have led to constant disorders in Mesopotamia had there still been rival candidates for the Sheikhship. Nejib pretended to be satisfied, and agreed to send out a party of irregular troops to assist Sofuk in enforcing his authority throughout the desert.

The commander of the troops sent by Nejib was Ibrahim Agha, the son of the Georgian, whom we met on our journey into the desert. Sofuk received him with joy, and immediately marched against the tribe; but he himself was the enemy against whom the Agha was sent. He had scarcely left his tent, when he found that he had fallen into a snare which he had more than once set for others. In a few hours after, his head was in the palace of the Pasha of Baghdad.

Such was the end of one whose name will long be remembered in the wilds of Arabia; who, from his power and wealth, enjoyed the title of "the King of the Desert," and led the great tribe of Shammar from the banks of the Khabour to the ruins of Babylon. The tale of the Arab will turn for many years to come on the exploits and magnificence of Sofuk.

CHAP. V.

DISCOVERY OF SMALL OBJECTS.—PAVEMENT OF THE CHAMBERS.—AN ARAB FEAST.—ARRIVAL OF TAHYAR PASHA.—EXCAVATIONS CONTINUED.—THE SUMMER AT NIMROUD.—A WHIRLWIND.—FURTHER DISCOVERIES OF BAS-RELIEFS.—DESCRIPTION OF THE SCULPTURES.—PAINTED PLASTER.—RECEIPT OF VIZIRIAL LETTER.—EXCAVATIONS AT KOUYUNJIK.—FRESH DISCOVERIES AT NIMROUD.—SURPRISE OF THE ARABS.—FIRST COLLECTION OF SCULPTURES SENT TO ENGLAND.—VISIT FROM TAHYAR PASHA.—SPECULATIONS OF THE TURKS ON THE SCULPTURES.—REMOVE TO MOSUL.—DISCOVERY OF A BUILDING IN A MOUND NEAR KOUYUNJIK.—NEW CHAMBERS OPENED AT NIMROUD.

On my return to Mosul I hastened back to Nimroud. During my absence little progress had been made, as only two men had been employed in removing the rubbish from the upper part of the chamber to which the great human-headed lions formed an entrance. The lions to the east of them (entrance *d*) had, however, been completely uncovered; that to the right (No. 2.) had fallen from its place, and was sustained by the opposite sculpture. Between them was a large pavement slab covered with cuneiform characters.

In clearing the earth from this entrance, and from behind the fallen lion, many ornaments in copper, two small ducks in baked clay, and tablets of alabaster inscribed on both sides were discovered.* Amongst the copper mouldings were the head of a

* All these objects will be deposited in the British Museum.

ram or a bull *, several hands (the fingers closed and slightly bent), and a few flowers. The hands may have served as a casing to similar objects in baked clay, frequently found amongst the ruins, and having an inscription, containing the names, titles, and genealogy of the King, graved upon the fingers. The heads of the ducks, for they resemble that bird more than any other, are turned and rest upon the back, which is covered with cuneiform characters. Objects somewhat similar have been found in Egypt. It is difficult to determine the original site of the small tablets. They appeared to me to have been built up in the walls above the slabs, or to have been placed behind the slabs themselves, and this conjecture was confirmed by subsequent discoveries. The inscription upon them resembled that on all the slabs in the N. W. palace.

It was remarkable that whilst such parts of the chamber B as had been uncovered were paved with kiln-burnt bricks, and the entrance *d* with a large slab of alabaster, between the two great lions there was only a flooring of common sun-dried brick. In the middle of the entrance, near the forepart of the lions, were a few square stones carefully placed. I expected to find under them small figures in clay, similar to those discovered by M. Botta in the doorways at Khorsabad, but nothing of the kind existed.

As several of the principal Christian families of

* This head may have belonged to the end of a chariot pole, or may have cased the head of the bull or ram carried by the winged lion, at the feet of which it was discovered.

Mosul were anxious to see the sculptures, whose fame had been spread over the town and provinces, I was desirous of gratifying their curiosity before the heat of summer had rendered the plain of Nimroud almost uninhabitable. An opportunity at the same time presented itself of securing the good-will of the Arab tribes encamping near the ruins, by preparing an entertainment which might gratify all parties. The Christian ladies, who had never before been out of sight of the walls of their houses, were eager to see the wonders of Nimroud, and availed themselves joyfully of the permission, with difficulty extracted from their husbands, to leave their homes. The French consul and his wife, and Mr. and Mrs. Rassam joined the party. On the day after their arrival I issued a general invitation to all the Arabs of the district, men and women.

White pavilions, borrowed from the Pasha, had been pitched near the river, on a broad lawn still carpeted with flowers. These were for the ladies, and for the reception of the Sheikhs. Black tents were provided for some of the guests, for the attendants and for the kitchen. A few Arabs encamped around us to watch the horses, which were picketted on all sides. An open space was left in the centre of the group of tents for dancing, and for various exhibitions provided for the entertainment of the company.

Early in the morning came Abd-ur-rahman, mounted on a tall white mare. He had adorned himself with all the finery he possessed. Over his keffiah, or head-kerchief, was folded a white turban,

they join in the dance, their forms, which the simple Arab shirt so well displays, are entirely concealed.

When those who formed the Debkè were completely exhausted by their exertions, they joined the lookers-on, and seated themselves on the ground. Two warriors of different tribes, furnished with shields and drawn scimitars, then entered the circle, and went through the sword-dance. As the music quickened, the excitement of the performers increased. The bystanders at length were obliged to interfere, and to deprive the combatants of their weapons, which were replaced by stout staves. With these they belaboured one another unmercifully to the great enjoyment of the crowd. On every successful hit, the tribe, to which the one who dealt it belonged, set up their war-cry and shouts of applause, whilst the women deafened us with the shrill "*tahlehl*," a noise made by a combined motion of the tongue, throat, and hand vibrated rapidly over the mouth. When an Arab or a Kurd hears this tahlehl he almost loses his senses through excitement, and is ready to commit any desperate act.

A party of Kurdish jesters from the mountains entertained the Arabs with performances and imitations, more amusing than refined. They were received with shouts of laughter. The dances were kept up by the light of the moon, the greater part of the night.

On the following morning Abd-ur-rahman invited us to his tents, and we were entertained with renewed Debkès and sword-dances. The women, un-

disturbed by the presence of another tribe, entered more fully into the amusement, and danced with greater animation. The Sheikh insisted upon my joining with him in leading off a dance, in which we were joined by some five hundred warriors, and Arab women. His admiration of the beauty of the French lady who accompanied us exceeded all bounds, and when he had ceased dancing, he sat gazing upon her from a corner of the tent—"Wallah," he whispered to me, "she is the sister of the Sun! what would you have more beautiful than that? Had I a thousand purses, I would give them all for such a wife. See!—her eyes are like the eyes of my mare, her hair is as bitumen, and her complexion resembles the finest Busrah dates. Any one would die for a Houri like that." The Sheikh was almost justified in his admiration.

The festivities lasted three days, and made the impression I had anticipated. They earned me a great reputation and no small respect, the Arabs long afterwards talking of their reception and entertainment. When there was occasion for their services, I found the value of the feeling towards me, which a little show of kindness to these ill-used people had served to produce.

Hafiz Pasha, who had been appointed to succeed the last governor, having received a more lucrative post, the province was sold to Tahyar Pasha. He made his public entry into Mosul early in May, and I rode out to meet him. He was followed by a large body of troops, and by the Cadi, Mufti, Ulema, and

principal inhabitants of the town, who had been waiting for him at some distance from the gates to show their respect. The Mosuleeans had not been deceived by the good report of his benevolence and justice which had preceded him. He was a venerable old man, bland and polished in his manners, courteous to Europeans, and well informed on subjects connected with the literature and history of his country. He was a perfect specimen of the Turkish gentleman of the old school, of whom few are now left in Turkey. I had been furnished with serviceable letters of introduction to him; he received me with every mark of attention, and at once permitted me to continue the excavations. As a matter of form, he named a Cawass, to superintend the work on his part. I willingly concurred in this arrangement, as it saved me from any further inconvenience on the score of treasure; for which, it was still believed, I was successfully searching. This officer's name was Ibrahim Agha. He had been many years with Tahyar, and was a kind of favourite. He served me during my residence in Assyria, and on my subsequent journey to Constantinople, with great fidelity; and, as is very rarely the case with his fraternity, with great honesty.

The support of Tahyar Pasha relieved me from some of my difficulties; for there was no longer cause to fear any interruption on the part of the authorities. But my means were very limited, and my own resources did not enable me to carry on the excavations as I wished. I returned, however, to Nimroud, and formed a small but effective body of workmen, choos-

ing those who had already proved themselves equal to the work.

The heats of summer had now commenced, and it was no longer possible to live under a white tent. The huts were equally uninhabitable, and still swarmed with vermin. In this dilemma I ordered a recess to be cut into the bank of the river, where it rose perpendicularly from the water's edge. By skreening the front with reeds and boughs of trees, and covering the whole with similar materials, a small room was formed. I was much troubled, however, with scorpions and other reptiles, which issued from the earth forming the walls of my apartment; and later in the summer by the gnats and sandflies, which hovered on a calm night over the river. Similar rooms were made for my servants. They were the safest that could be invented, should the Arabs take to stealing after dark. My horses were picketted on the edge of the bank above, and the tents of my workmen were pitched in a semi-circle behind them.

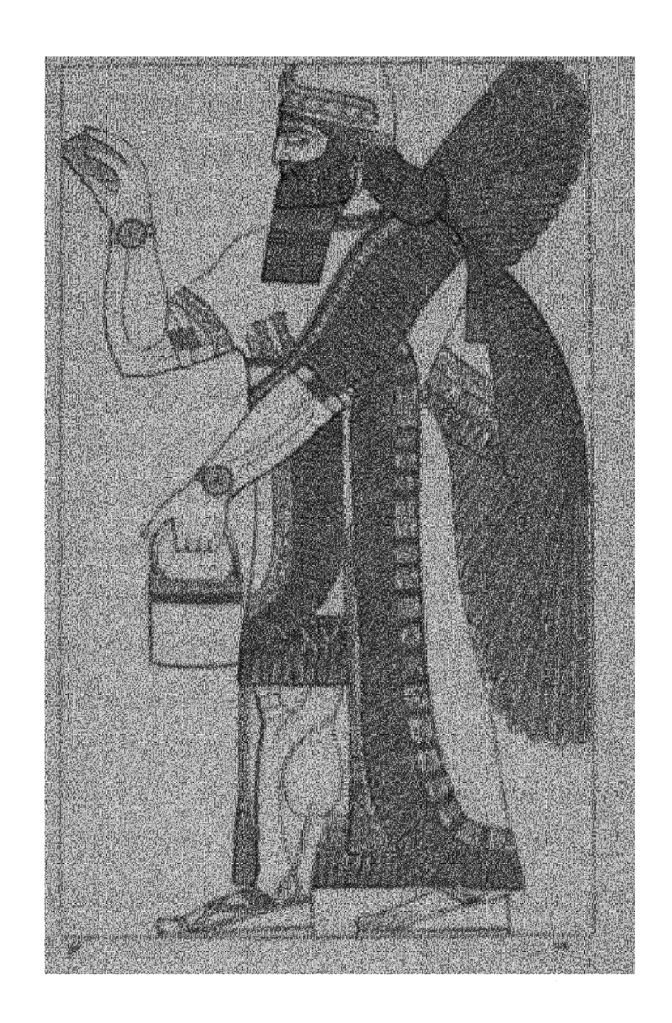
The change to summer had been as rapid as that which ushered in the spring. The verdure of the plain had perished almost in a day. Hot winds, coming from the desert, had burnt up and carried away the shrubs; flights of locusts, darkening the air, had destroyed the few patches of cultivation, and had completed the havoc commenced by the heat of the sun. The Abou-Salman Arabs, having struck their black tents, were now living in ozailis, or sheds, constructed of reeds and grass along the banks of the river. The Shemutti and Jehesh had returned to their

villages, and the plain presented the same naked and desolate aspect that it wore in the month of November. The heat, however, was now almost intolerable. Violent whirlwinds occasionally swept over the face of the country. They could be seen as they advanced from the desert, carrying along with them clouds of sand and dust. Almost utter darkness prevailed during their passage, which lasted generally about an hour, and nothing could resist their fury. On returning home one afternoon after a tempest of this kind, I found no traces of my dwellings; they had been completely carried away. Ponderous wooden frameworks had been borne over the bank, and hurled some hundred yards distant; the tents had disappeared, and my furniture was scattered over the plain. When on the mound, my only secure place of refuge was beneath the fallen lion, where I could defy the fury of the whirlwind; the Arabs ceased from their work and crouched in the trenches, almost suffocated and blinded by the dense cloud of fine dust and sand which nothing could exclude.*

Although the number of my workmen was small, the excavations were carried on as actively as possible. The two human-headed lions, forming the entrance *d*†,

* Storms of this nature are frequent during the early part of summer throughout Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Susiana. It is difficult to convey an idea of their violence. They appear suddenly and without any previous sign, and seldom last above an hour. It was during one of them that the Tigris steamer, under the command of Colonel Chesney, was wrecked in the Euphrates; and so darkened was the atmosphere that, although the vessel was within a short distance of the bank of the river, several persons who were in her are supposed to have lost their lives from not knowing in what direction to swim.

† Chamber B, plan 3.



WINGED

led into another chamber, or to sculptured walls, which, as it will hereafter be explained, may have formed an outward facing to the building. The slabs to the right and left, on issuing from this portal, had fallen from their original position, and all of them, except one, were broken. I had some difficulty in raising the pieces from the ground. As the face of the slabs was downwards, the sculpture had been well preserved.

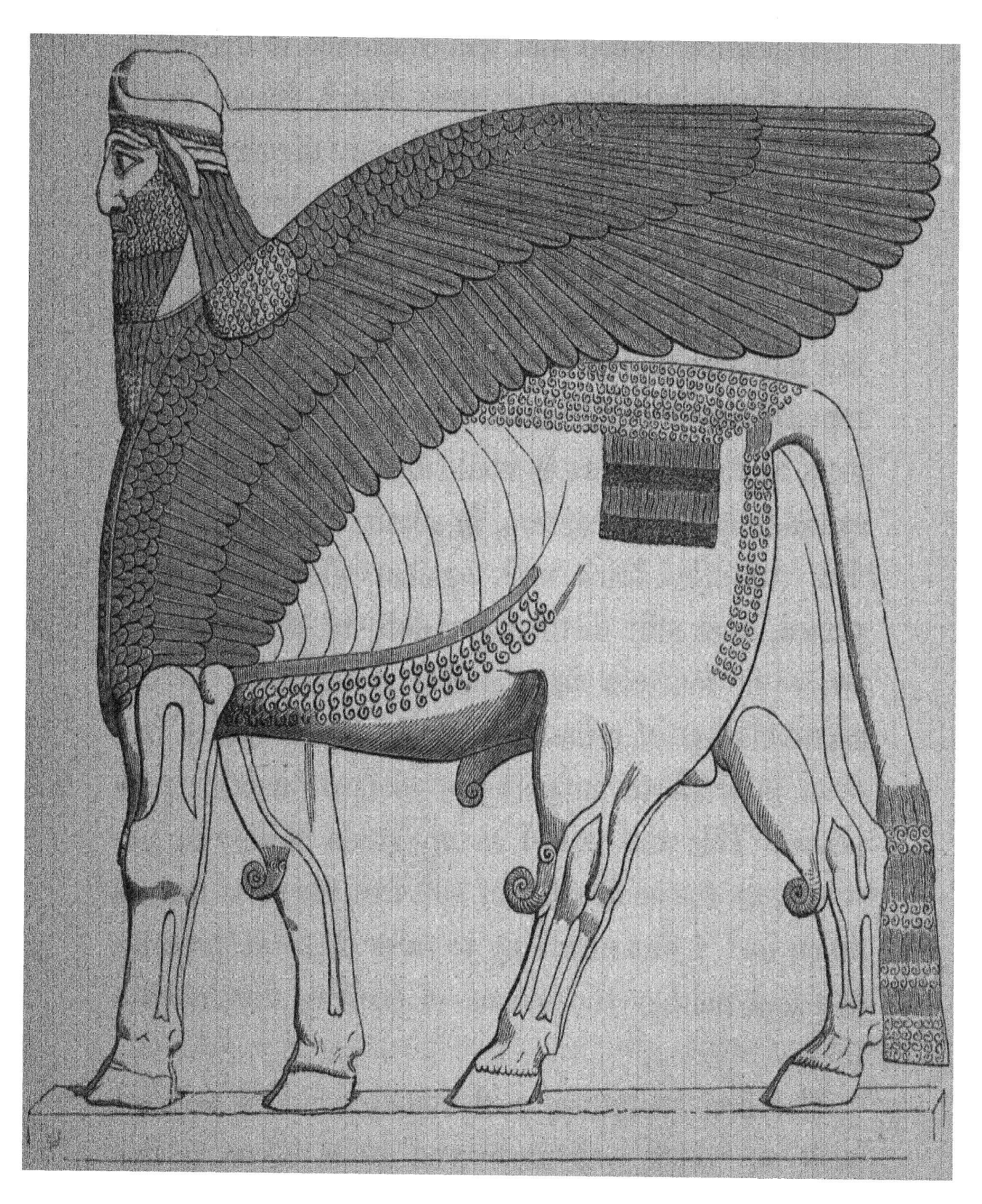
On the slabs Nos. 2. and 3. was represented the King, holding a bow in one hand and two arrows in the other. He was followed by his attendant eunuch, who carried a mace, a second bow and a quiver for his use. Facing him was his vizir, his hands crossed before him, also followed by an eunuch. These figures were about eight feet high; the relief very low, and the ornaments rich and elaborately carved. The bracelets, armlets, and weapons, were all adorned with the heads of bulls and rams; colour still remained on the hair, beard, and sandals.

No. 1. forming a corner wall, was a slab of enormous dimensions; it had been broken in two: the upper part was on the floor, the lower was still standing in its place. It was only after many ineffectual attempts that I succeeded in raising the fallen part sufficiently to ascertain the nature of the sculpture. It was a winged figure, with a three-horned cap, carrying the fir cone and square utensil; in other respects, similar to those already described, except that it had two wings rising from both sides of the back and enclosing the person. Its dimensions

were gigantic, the height being about sixteen feet and a half, but the relief was low.

The first slab on the other side of the entrance contained a vizir and his attendant, similar to No. 3. The succeeding slabs were occupied by figures, differing altogether in costume from those previously discovered, and apparently representing people of another race; some carrying presents or offerings, consisting of armlets, bracelets, and earrings on trays; others elevating their clenched hands, either in token of submission, or in the attitude still peculiar to Easterns when they dance. One figure was accompanied by two monkeys, held by ropes; the one raising itself on its hind legs in front, the other sitting on the shoulders of the man, and supporting itself by placing its fore paws on his head.* The dresses of all these figures are singular. They have high boots turned up at the toes, somewhat resembling those still in use in Turkey and Persia. Their caps, although conical, appear to have been made up of bands, or folds of felt or linen. Their tunics vary in shape, and in the fringes, from those of the high-capped warriors and attendants represented in other bas-reliefs. The figure with the monkeys wears a tunic descending to the calf of the leg. His hair is simply fastened by a fillet. There were traces of black colour all over the face, and it is not improbable that it was painted to represent a negro: it is, however, possible that the paint of the hair has been

* This bas-relief will be placed in the British Museum.



WINGED HUMAN-HEADED BULL. (N. W. Palace, Nimroud.)

washed down by water over other parts of the sculpture. These peculiarities of dress suggest that the persons represented were captives from some distant country, bringing tribute to the conquerors.

In chamber B the wall was continued to the south, or to the left facing the great lion*, by an eagle-headed figure resembling that already described; adjoining it was a corner stone, occupied by the sacred tree; beyond, the wall ceased altogether. On digging downwards, it was found that the slabs had fallen in; and although they were broken, the sculptures, representing battles, sieges, and other historical subjects, were, as far as it could be ascertained by the examination of one or two, in admirable preservation. The sun-dried brick wall, against which they were placed, was still distinctly visible to the height of twelve or fourteen feet; and I could trace, by the accumulation of ashes, the places where beams had been inserted to support the roof, or for other purposes. This wall served as my guide in digging onwards, as, to the distance of 100 feet, the slabs had all fallen in. I was unwilling to raise them at present, as I had neither the means of packing nor moving them.

The first sculpture, still standing in its original position, which was uncovered after following this wall, was a winged human-headed bull of yellow limestone. On the previous day the detached head, now in the British Museum, had been found. The

* Entrance A, chamber B, plan 3.

bull, to which it belonged, had fallen against the opposite sculpture, and had been broken by the fall into several pieces. I lifted the body with difficulty; and, to my surprise, discovered under it sixteen copper lions, admirably designed, and forming a regular series, diminishing in size from the largest, which was above one foot in length, to the smallest, which scarcely exceeded an inch. To their backs was affixed a ring, giving them the appearance of weights. Here I also discovered a broken earthen vase, on which were represented two Priapean human figures, with the wings and claws of a bird, the breast of a woman, and the tail of a scorpion, or some similar reptile. I carefully collected and packed the fragments.

Beyond the winged bull the slabs were still entire, and occupied their original positions. On the first was sculptured a winged human figure, carrying a branch with five flowers in the raised right hand, and the usual square vessel in the left. Around his temples was a fillet adorned with three rosettes. On each of the four adjoining slabs were two bas-reliefs, separated by a band of inscriptions. The upper, on the first slab, represented a castle built by the side of a river, or on an island. One tower is defended by an armed man, two others are occupied by females. Three warriors, probably escaping from the enemy, are swimming across the stream; two of them on inflated skins, in the mode practised to this day by the Arabs inhabiting the banks of the rivers of Assyria and Mesopotamia; except that, in the bas-relief,

the swimmers are pictured as retaining the aperture, through which the air is forced, in their mouths. The third, pierced by arrows discharged from the bows of two high-capped warriors kneeling on the bank, is struggling, without the support of a skin, against the current. Three rudely designed trees complete the back-ground.

In the upper compartment of the next slab was the siege of the city, with the battering-ram and movable tower, now in the British Museum. The lower part of the two slabs was occupied by one subject, a king receiving prisoners brought before him by his vizir. The sculpture, representing the king followed by his attendants and chariot, is already in the national collection. The prisoners were on the adjoining slab. Above their heads are vases and various objects, amongst which appear to be shawls and elephants' tusks, probably representing the spoil carried away from the conquered nation.

Upon the third slab were, in the upper compartment, the king hunting, and in the lower, the king standing over the lion, both deposited in the British Museum; and on the fourth the bull hunt, now also in England, and the king standing over the prostrate bull.

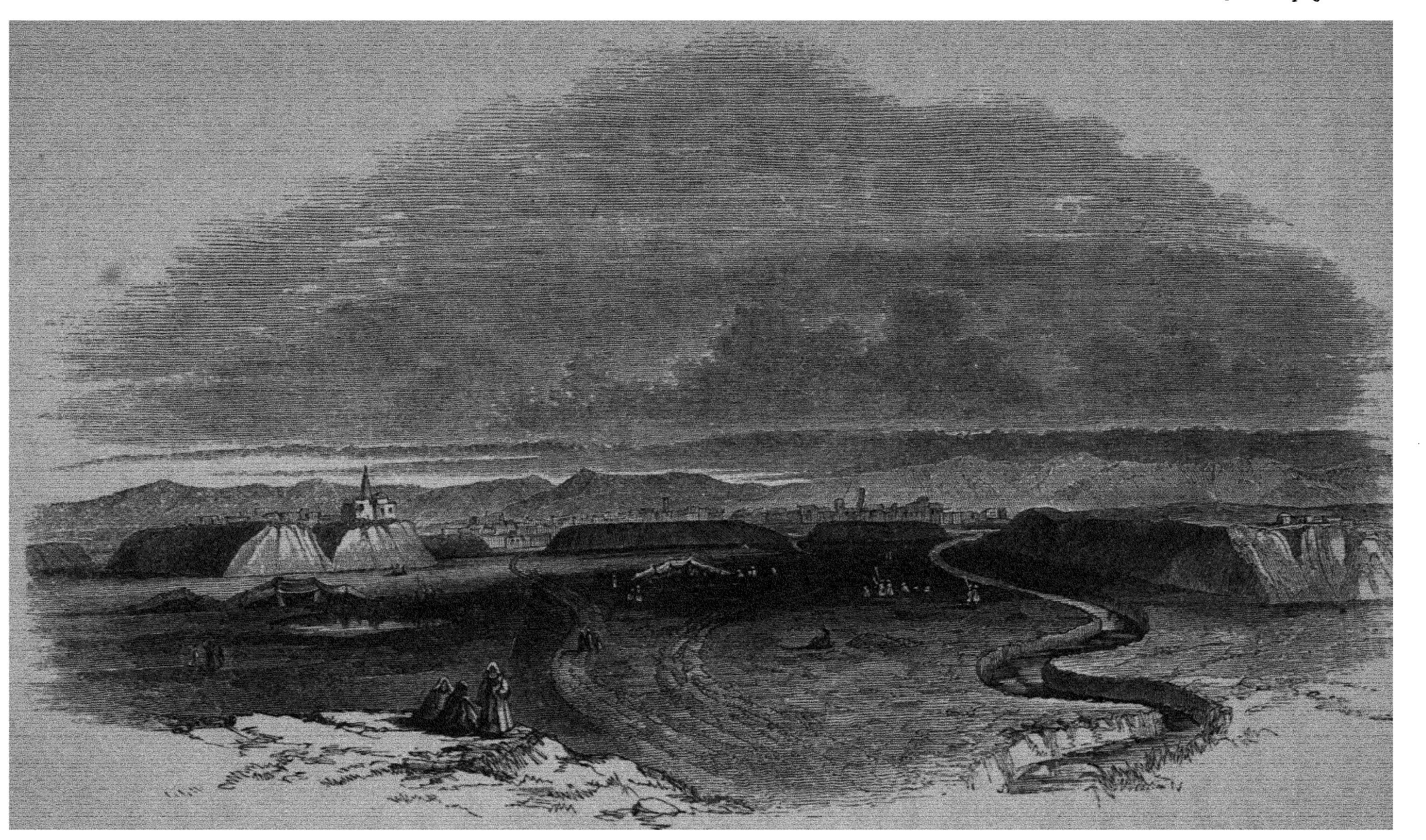
The most remarkable of the sculptures hitherto discovered was the lion hunt; which, from the knowledge of art displayed in the treatment and composition, the correct and effective delineation of the men and animals, the spirit of the grouping, and its extraordinary preservation, is probably the finest specimen of Assyrian art in existence.

On the flooring, below the sculptures, were discovered considerable remains of painted plaster still adhering to the sun-dried bricks, which had fallen in masses from the upper part of the wall. The colours, particularly the blues and reds, were as brilliant and vivid when the earth was removed from them, as they could have been when first used. On exposure to the air they faded rapidly. The designs were elegant and elaborate. It was found almost impossible to preserve any portion of these ornaments, the earth crumbling to pieces when an attempt was made to raise it.

About this time I received the vizirial letter procured by Sir Stratford Canning, authorising the continuation of the excavations and the removal of such objects as might be discovered. I was sleeping in the tent of Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman, who had invited me to hunt gazelles with him before dawn on the following morning, when an Arab awoke me. He was the bearer of letters from Mosul, and I read by the light of a small camel-dung fire, the document which secured to the British nation the records of Nineveh, and a collection of the earliest monuments of Assyrian art.

The vizirial order was as comprehensive as could be desired; and having been granted on the departure of the British ambassador, was the highest testimony the Turkish government could give of their respect for the character of Sir Stratford Canning, and of their appreciation of the eminent services he had rendered them.

One of the difficulties, and not one of the least



THE TOMB OF … OUYUNJIK, AND THE … NS OPPOSITE MOSUL.

which had to be encountered, was now completely removed. Still, however, pecuniary resources were wanting, and in the absence of the necessary means, extensive excavations could not be carried on. I hastened, nevertheless, to communicate the letter of the Grand Vizir to the Pasha, and to make arrangements for pursuing the researches as effectually as possible.

Not having yet examined the great mound of Kouyunjik, which, as it has already been observed, has generally been believed by travellers to mark the true site of Nineveh, I determined to open trenches in it. I had not previously done so, as the vicinity of the ruins to Mosul would have enabled the inhabitants of the town to watch my movements, and to cause me continual interruptions before the sanction of the authorities could be obtained to my proceedings. A small party of workmen having been organised, excavations were commenced on the southern face, where the mound was highest; as sculptures, if any still existed, would probably be found in the best state of preservation under the largest accumulation of rubbish.

The only opposition I received was from the French Consul, who claimed the ruins as French property. The claim not being recognised, he also dug into the mound, but in another direction. We both continued our researches for about a month without much success. A few fragments of sculpture and inscriptions were discovered, which enabled me to assert with some confidence that the remains were those of a building contemporary, or nearly so, with

Khorsabad, and consequently of a more recent epoch than the most ancient palace of Nimroud. All the bricks dug out bore the name of the same king, but I could not find any traces of his genealogy.

On my return to Nimroud, about thirty men, chiefly Arabs, were employed to carry on the excavations. Being anxious to learn as soon as possible the extent of the building, and the nature of the sculptures it contained, I merely dug down to the top of the slabs and ascertained the character of the sculpture upon them, reserving a completer examination for a more favourable opportunity. I was thus able to form an opinion as to the number of bas-reliefs that could be removed, and to preserve those partially uncovered from injury, by heaping the rubbish again over them.

United to the last of the four slabs with small bas-reliefs, beyond the bulls of yellow limestone, was an ornamented corner-stone marking the end of hall B., the length of which could now be ascertained. Its dimensions were peculiar — 154 feet in length by 33 in breadth — resembling in its narrowness the chambers of Khorsabad, though exceeding them all in its proportions. Adjoining the corner-stone was a winged figure; beyond it a slab 14 feet in length cut into a recess, in which are four figures. Two kings stand facing one another, but separated by the symbolic tree, above which is the divinity, with the wings and tail of a bird, enclosed in a circle, and holding a ring in one hand, resembling the image so frequently occurring on the early sculptures of Persia, and

at one time conjectured to be the Zoroastrian "ferouher," or spirit of the person beneath. The fact of the identity of this figure with the Persian symbol is remarkable, and gives rise to new speculations and conjectures, which will be alluded to hereafter. Each king holds a mace or instrument formed by a handle with a ball or circle at the end*, and is followed by a winged figure carrying the fir-cone and basket. This bas-relief is well designed and delicately carved, and the ornaments on the dresses and arms of the figures are elegant and elaborate.†

This large slab was followed by a winged figure similar to that preceding it, and the end of the hall was formed by a second ornamented corner-stone. The half of both the winged figures adjoining the centre slab, as well as the lower part of that slab, which advanced beyond the sculpture, had been purposely destroyed, and the stone still bore the marks of the chisel.

Subsequent excavations disclosed in front of the large bas-relief a slab of alabaster, 10 feet by 8, and about 2 feet thick, cut at the western end into steps or gradines. It appeared to be a raised place for a throne, or to be an altar on which sacrifices were made: the latter conjecture was strengthened by a conduit for water or some other fluid, also of alabaster, being carried round the stone, which was covered on both sides

* A similar object is seen in the hand of a sitting figure on a cylinder, engraved in Rich's Second Memoir on Babylon.

† This bas-relief has been sent to England: it is broken in several pieces.

with inscriptions. On raising it, a process of considerable difficulty from its weight and size, I found underneath a few pieces of gold-leaf and fragments of bones.

In the northern corner of the same part of the chamber, and near this slab, were two square stones slightly hollowed in the centre.

The first slab forming the northern wall after the corner-stone, was occupied by a human figure, with four wings; his right hand was raised, and in his left was a mace. Beyond were two lions * to correspond with those forming the entrance *d*, from which they differed somewhat in form, the hands being crossed in front, and no animal being carried on the arm. They led to an outer wall or vestibule similar to that marked E, in the 3rd plan. The bas-reliefs represented figures bearing ornaments: there was another gigantic figure like that already described, which was also broken into two pieces.

As the edge of a deep ravine had now been reached by the trenches, the workmen were directed to return to the yellow bulls, which were found to form the entrance into a new chamber, marked F in the 3rd plan. I only partly uncovered the slabs as far as the entrance *a*, and three to the west of it. On No. 4. was a king attended by eagle-headed figures. Around his neck were suspended the symbolic or astronomical signs, which are frequently found in Assyrian monuments; sometimes detached and placed close to the principal personage, enclosed in a square or

* Entrance *c*, chamber B, plan 3.

scattered over the slab*; at others forming a part of his attire. They are generally five in number, and include the sun, a star, a half-moon, a three-pronged or two-pronged instrument, and a horned cap similar to that worn by the human-headed bulls, and the winged figures in chamber B. All the other slabs in this chamber were occupied by eagle-headed figures in pairs, facing one another and separated by the usual symbolic tree.

The entrance *a* was formed by four slabs, on two of which (Nos. 1. and 2.) were figures without wings, with the right hand raised, and carrying in the left a mystic flower; and on the others simply the often-repeated inscription. This entrance led me into a new chamber, remarkable for the elaborate and careful finish of its sculptures, and the size of its slabs. I uncovered the northern wall, and the eastern as far as the entrance *e*.† Each slab, except the corner-stones, was occupied by two figures about eight feet in height. Nos. 2, 3, and 4. formed one group. On the centre slab No. 3. is the king seated on a stool or throne of most elegant design and careful workmanship. His feet are placed upon a footstool supported by lion's paws. In his elevated right hand he holds a cup; his left rests upon his knee. His attire and head-dress resemble those of the kings in other bas-reliefs, but the robes are covered with the most elaborate embroidery. Upon his

* In the rock sculptures of Bavian, to the east of Mosul, they occur above the king, and they are frequently found on cylinders.

† From slab No. 1. to 8.

breast, and forming a border to which fringes are attached, are graved a variety of religious emblems, and figures found upon cylinders and seals of Assyria and Babylon. Amongst them are men struggling with animals, winged horses, griffins, the sacred tree, and the king himself engaged in the performance of religious ceremonies. All these are represented in the embroidery of the robes. They are lightly cut, and it is not improbable that they were originally coloured. The bracelets, armlets, and other ornaments are equally elegant and elaborate in design. In front of the king stands an eunuch, holding in one hand and above the cup, a fly-flapper; and in the other the cover or the case of the cup which is in the hand of the king. A piece of embroidered linen, or a towel, thrown over his shoulder, is ready to be presented to the king, as is the custom to this day in the East, after drinking or performing ablutions. Behind the eunuch is a winged figure wearing the horned-cap, and bearing the fir-cone and basket. At the back of the throne are two eunuchs, carrying the arms of the king, followed by a second winged human figure. The garments and ornaments of all these persons are as richly embroidered, and adorned, as those of the monarch. The colours still adhere to the sandals, brows, hair, and eyes. The sculptures are in the best state of preservation; the most delicate carvings are still distinct, and the outline of the figures retains its original sharpness. Across the slabs runs the customary inscription.*

* The three slabs with these bas-reliefs are on their way to England.

The Arabs marvelled at these strange figures. As each head was uncovered they showed their amazement by extravagant gestures, or exclamations of surprise. If it was a bearded man, they concluded at once that it was an idol or a Jin, and cursed or spat upon it. If an eunuch, they declared that it was the likeness of a beautiful female, and kissed or patted the cheek. They soon felt as much interest as I did in the objects discovered, and worked with renewed ardour when their curiosity was excited by the appearance of a fresh sculpture. On such occasions they would strip themselves almost naked, throw the handkerchief from their heads, and letting their matted hair stream in the wind, rush like madmen into the trenches, and carry off the baskets of earth, shouting, at the same time, the war cry of the tribe.

On the other uncovered slabs of chamber G were groups composed of the king, raising the cup, and attended by two eunuchs, or holding a bow in one hand, and two arrows in the other, preceded and followed by a winged human figure similar to those on Nos. 2. and 4. These groups were alternate, and were all equally remarkable for the richness and elegance of the embroidery and ornaments. They furnished me not only with a collection of beautiful designs, but also with many new and highly interesting symbolical and mythic signs, and figures. I shall hereafter describe these more in detail, and show the important insight they afford us into the religious system of the Assyrians, and the origin of the mythology of some other countries.

I did not, for the time, follow the eastern wall of this chamber, but turned into the entrance *e*, which led me into another chamber (H). This entrance was formed by two winged figures (Nos. 1. and 2.), and two plain slabs (Nos. 3. and 4.) crossed in the centre by the usual inscription. Upon the first slab beyond it, was a winged human figure with a fillet round the temples, carrying the fir-cone and basket; upon the following slabs, the king holding a cup, between two similar winged figures.

I quitted this chamber, after uncovering the upper part of four or five bas-reliefs; and returning to the entrance *a* (chamber G), traced to the south of it two slabs upon which were groups similar to those on the opposite wall, except that the right hand of the king rested on the hilt of his sword, and not on the bow. On No. 27. was an eagle-headed figure, and beyond it was discovered another pair of human-headed lions, smaller than those forming entrance *a* of chamber B, but excelling them in the preservation of the details. The slabs on which they were carved were slightly cracked; but otherwise they appeared to have issued but the day before, from the hand of the sculptor. The accumulation of earth and rubbish above this part of the ruins was very considerable, and it is not improbable that it was owing to this fact that the sculptures had been so completely guarded from injury.

Beyond this entrance were continued groups, similar to those already described as occurring on the previous slabs.

I was now anxious to embark and forward to Baghdad, or Busrah, for transport to Bombay, such sculptures as I could move with the means at my disposal. Major Rawlinson had obligingly proposed that, for this purpose, the small steamer navigating the lower part of the Tigris should be sent up to Nimroud, and I expected the most valuable assistance, both in removing the slabs and in plans for future excavations, from her able commander, Lieutenant Jones. The Euphrates, one of the two vessels originally launched on the rivers of Mesopotamia, had some years previously succeeded in reaching the tomb of Sultan Abdallah, a few miles below Nimroud. Here impediments, not more serious than those she had already surmounted, occurring in the bed of the stream, she returned to Bagdad. A vessel even of her construction, and with her engines, could have reached, I have little doubt, the bund or dam of the Awai, which would probably have been a barrier to a further ascent of the Tigris. It was found, however, that the machinery of the Nitocris was either too much out of repair, or not sufficiently powerful to impel the vessel over the rapids, which occur in some parts of the river. After ascending some miles above Tekrit the attempt was given up, and she returned to her station.

Without proper materials it was impossible to move either the gigantic lions, or even the large sculptures of chamber G. The few ropes to be obtained in the country were so ill-made that they could not support any considerable weight. I deter-

mined, therefore, to displace the slabs (in chamber B) divided into two compartments; then to saw off the sculptures, and to reduce them as much as possible by cutting from the back. The inscriptions being mere repetitions, I did not consider it necessary to preserve them, as they added to the weight. With the help of levers of wood, and by digging away the wall of sun-dried bricks from behind the slabs, I was enabled to turn them into the centre of the trench, where they were sawn by marble-cutters from Mosul. When the bas-reliefs were thus prepared, there was no difficulty in dragging them out of the trenches. The upper part of a slab in chamber G, containing the heads of a king and his attendant eunuch, having been discovered broken off from the lower, it was included amongst the sculptures to be embarked. One of the winged figures from entrance *e* of the same chamber, and an eagle-headed divinity, were also successfully moved. These, with the head and the hoof of the bull in yellow limestone from entrance *b* chamber B, form the collection first sent to England, and now deposited in the British Museum. As they have been long before the public, and have been more than once accurately described, I need not trouble the reader with any further account of them.

After having been removed from the trenches, the sculptures were packed in felts and matting, and screwed down in roughly made cases. They were transported from the mound to the river upon rude buffalo carts belonging to the Pasha, and then placed

upon a raft formed of inflated skins and beams of poplar wood. They floated down the Tigris as far as Baghdad, were there placed on board boats of the country, and reached Busrah in the month of August.

Whilst I was moving these sculptures Tahyar Pasha visited me. He was accompanied, for his better security, by a large body of regular and irregular troops, and three guns. His Diwan Effendesi, seal-bearer, and all the dignitaries of the household, were also with him. I entertained this large company for two days. The Pasha's tents were pitched on an island in the river, near my shed. He visited the ruins, and expressed no less wonder at the sculptures than the Arabs; nor were his conjectures as to their origin and the nature of the subjects represented, much more rational than those of the sons of the desert. The gigantic human-headed lions terrified, as well as amazed, his Osmanli followers. "La Illahi il Allah (there is no God but God)," was echoed from all sides. "These are the idols of the infidels," said one more knowing than the rest. "I saw many such when I was in Italia with Reshid Pasha, the ambassador. Wallah, they have them in all the churches, and the Papas (priests) kneel and burn candles before them." "No, my lamb," exclaimed a more aged and experienced Turk. "I have seen the images of the infidels in the churches of Beyoglu; they are dressed in many colours; and although some of them have wings, none have a dog's body and a tail; these are the works of the Jin, whom the holy Solomon, peace be upon him!

reduced to obedience and imprisoned under his seal." "I have seen something like them in your apothecaries' and barbers' shops," said I, alluding to the well-known figure, half woman and half lion, which is met with so frequently in the bazars of Constantinople. "Istafer Allah (God forbid)," piously ejaculated the Pasha; "that is the sacred emblem of which true believers speak with reverence, and not the handywork of infidels." "There is no infidel living," exclaimed the engineer, who was looked up to as an authority on these subjects, "either in Frangistan or in Yenghi Dunia (America), who could make any thing like that; they are the work of the Majus (Magi), and are to be sent to England to form the gateway to the palace of the Queen." "May God curse all infidels and their works!" observed the cadi's deputy, who accompanied the Pasha; "what comes from their hands is of Satan: it has pleased the Almighty to let them be more powerful and ingenious than the true believers in this world, that their punishment and the reward of the faithful may be greater in the next."

The heat had now become so intense that my health began to suffer from continual exposure to the sun, and from the labour of superintending the excavations, drawing the sculptures, and copying the inscriptions. In the trenches, where I daily passed many hours, the thermometer generally ranged from 112° to 115° in the shade, and on one or two occasions even reached 117°. The hot winds swept over the desert; they were as blasts from a furnace

during the day, and even at night they drove away sleep. I resolved, therefore, to take refuge for a week in the sardaubs or cellars of Mosul; and, in order not to lose time, to try further excavations in the Mound of Kouyunjik. Leaving a superintendent, and a few guards to watch over the uncovered sculptures, I rode to the town.

The houses of Baghdad and Mosul are provided with underground apartments, in which the inhabitants pass the day during the summer months. They are generally ill-lighted, and the air is close and oppressive. Many are damp and unwholesome; still they offered a welcome retreat during the hot weather, when it was almost impossible to sit in a room. At sunset the people emerge from these subterraneous chambers and congregate on the roofs, where they spread their carpets, eat their evening meal, and pass the night.

After endeavouring in vain for some time to find any one who had seen the bas-relief, described by Rich * as having been found in one of the mounds forming the large quadrangle in which are included Nebbi Yunus and Kouyunjik, an aged stone-cutter presented himself, and declared that he had not only been present when the sculpture was discovered, but that he had been employed to break it up. He offered to show me the spot, and I opened a trench at once into a high mound which he pointed out in the northern line of ruins. The workmen were not long

* Residence in Kurdistan and Nineveh, vol. ii. p. 39.

in coming upon fragments of sculptured alabaster, and after two or three days' labour an entrance was discovered, formed by two winged figures, which had been purposely destroyed. The legs and the lower part of the tunic were alone preserved. The proportions were gigantic, and the relief higher than that of any sculpture hitherto discovered in Assyria. This entrance led into a chamber, of which slabs about five feet high and three broad alone remained standing. There were marks of the chisel over them all; but from their size, it appeared doubtful whether figures had ever been sculptured upon them. As no slabs of alabaster or fragments of the same material were found, it is probable that the upper part of the walls was constructed of kiln-burnt bricks, with which the whole chamber was filled up, and which indeed formed the greater part of the mound. On the sides of many of them was an inscription, containing the name of the king who built the edifices of which Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunus are the remains. The pavement was of limestone. After tracing the walls of one chamber, I renounced a further examination, as no traces of sculpture were to be found, and the accumulation of rubbish was very considerable.

This building appears to have been either a guard-house at one of the entrances into the quadrangle, or a tower defending the walls. From the height of the mound it would seem that there were two or more stories.

The comparative rest obtained in Mosul so far restored my strength, that I returned to Nimroud

in the middle of August, and again attempted to renew the excavations. I uncovered the top of the slabs of chamber H from entrance *e* to entrance *b*, and discovered the chambers I and R.* Upon most of them were similar sculptures; the king standing between two winged figures, and holding in one hand a cup, in the other a bow. The only new feature in this chamber was a recess cut out of the upper part of slab No. 3. I am at a loss to account for its use; from its position it might have been taken for a window, opening into chamber G; but there was no corresponding aperture in the slab, which formed the facing of the wall at its back in that chamber. It may have been used as a place of deposit for sacred vessels and instruments, or as an altar for sacrifice; a conjecture which may be strengthened by the fact of a large square stone, slightly hollowed in the centre, and probably meant to contain a fluid, being generally found in front of the slabs in which such recesses occur.

The slabs in chamber R were unsculptured, having the usual inscription across them. The pavement was formed by alabaster slabs. Entrance *b* led me into a further chamber, narrow and long in its proportions. I only uncovered the upper part of a few of the slabs. Upon them were two bas-reliefs, separated by the usual inscription; the upper (similar on all the slabs) represented two winged human figures with the horned cap, kneeling on one knee

* Plan 3.

before the mystic tree; their hands are stretched out, one towards the top, and the other towards the bottom of the emblem before them. In the lower compartments were eagle-headed figures facing each other in pairs, and separated by the same symbol.

The state of my health again compelled me to renounce for the time my labours at Nimroud. As I required a cooler climate, I determined to visit the Tiyari mountains, inhabited by the Chaldæan Christians, and to return to Mosul in September, when the violence of the heat had abated.

CHAP. VI.

DEPARTURE FOR THE TIYARI MOUNTAINS. — KHORSABAD. — SHIEKH ADI. — A KURDISH ENCAMPMENT. — A CHALDÆAN VILLAGE. — CONVERTS TO ROMAN CATHOLICISM. — AMADIYAH. — A TURKISH GOVERNOR. — ALBANIAN IRREGULARS. — AN ALBANIAN CHIEF. — THE VALLEY OF BERWARI. — CHALDÆAN VILLAGES. — A KURDISH BEY. — ASHEETHA.

THE preparations for my departure for the Tiyari mountains were completed by the 28th August, and on that day I started from Mosul. My party consisted of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, Ibrahim Agha, two Albanian irregulars, who were to accompany me as far as Amadia, a servant, a groom, and one Ionan, or Ionunco, as he was familiarly called, a half-witted Nestorian, whose drunken frolics were reserved for the entertainment of the patriarch, and who was enlisted into our caravan for the amusement of the company. We rode our own horses. As Ionunco pretended to know all the mountain roads, and volunteered to conduct us, we placed ourselves under his guidance. I was provided with Bouyourouldis, or orders, from the Pasha to the authorities as far as Amadiyah, and with a letter to Abd-ul-Summet Bey, the Kurdish chief of Berwari, through whose territories we had to pass. Mar Shamoun, the patriarch, furnished me with a very strong letter of recommendation to the meleks and priests of the Nestorian districts.

As I was anxious to visit the French excavations

at Khorsabad on my way to the mountains, I left Mosul early in the afternoon, notwithstanding the great heat of the sun. It was the sixth day of Ramazan, and the Mahommedans were still endeavouring to sleep away their hunger when I passed through the gates, and crossed the bridge of boats. Leaving my baggage and servants to follow leisurely, I galloped on with the Albanians, and reached Khorsabad in about two hours.

The mound is about fourteen miles N.N.E. of Mosul. A village formerly stood on its summit, but the houses were purchased and removed by M. Botta, when the excavations were undertaken by the French Government. It has been rebuilt in the plain at the foot of the mound. The Khausser, a small stream issuing from the hills of Makloub, is divided into numerous branches as it approaches the village, and irrigates extensive rice grounds. The place is consequently very unhealthy, and the few squalid inhabitants who appeared, were almost speechless from ague. During M. Botta's excavations, the workmen suffered greatly from fever, and many fell victims to it.

The mode of carrying on the excavations resembled that which I adopted at Nimroud; and the general plan of construction is the same as in the Assyrian edifices already described. There are, however, more narrow passages in this building than at Nimroud, and the chambers are inferior in size. At the same time the slabs used in their construction are in general higher, though narrower. The relief in the larger

figures is more bold, in the smaller there is little difference. The human-headed bulls differ principally in the head-dress from those of the earliest buildings at Nimroud; the three-horned-cap is higher, and is not rounded off, the top being richly ornamented. The head-dress, in fact, is like that of similar winged animals at Persepolis. The faces of several of the bulls were turned inwards, which gave them an awkward and unsightly appearance.

Since M. Botta's departure the chambers had been partly filled up by the falling in of the trenches; the sculptures were rapidly perishing; and, shortly, little will remain of this remarkable monument. Scarcely any part of the building had escaped the fire which destroyed it, and consequently very few sculptures could be removed. Of exterior architecture I could find no trace except a flight of steps, flanked by solid masonry, which appears to have led up to a small temple of black stone or basalt, a few traces of which still remain. At the foot of the mound lies an altar or tripod, similar to that now in the Louvre, and part of a shaft of a column, which probably did not belong to the building.

The subjects of the sculptures, and the characters used in the inscriptions, have a general resemblance to those of Nimroud. I shall point out hereafter in what manner they differ.

Khorsabad, or Khishtabad, is mentioned by the early Arab geographers. It is described as a village occupying the site of an ancient Assyrian city called "Saraoun," or "Saraghoun;" and Yakuti declares,

that soon after the Arab conquest considerable treasures were found amongst the ruins. It was generally believed at Mosul, where a copy of Yakuti's work exists, that it was in consequence of this notice, and in the hopes of further riches, M. Botta excavated in the mound —hence much of the opposition encountered from the authorities.

I had finished my examination of the ruins by the time the baggage reached the village. The sun had set, but being unwilling to expose my party to fever by passing the night on this unhealthy spot, I rode on to a small hamlet about two miles distant. It was dark when we reached it, and we found ourselves in the midst of a marsh, even more extensive than that of Khorsabad. As there was no village beyond, I was obliged to stop here; and clambering up to a platform, formed of branches of trees and elevated upon poles, I passed the night free from the attacks of the swarms of gnats which infested the stagnant water below.

We left the hamlet long before sunrise, and soon reached some of the springs of the Khausser, a small stream which rises at the northern extremity of the Jebel Maklub, irrigates the lands of numerous villages on its course towards Mosul, and falls into the Tigris near Kouyunjik, after traversing the large quadrangle, of which that mound forms a part.

Our road crossed the northern spur of Jebel Maklub, and then stretched over an extensive level to the first range of the Kurdish hills. The heat soon became intense, the plain was parched and barren; a

few mud-built walls marked here and there the ruins of a village, and the silence and solitude were only broken by parties of Kurds, who were lazily driving before them, towards Mosul, donkeys heavily laden with rich clusters of grapes from the mountains.

A weary ride brought us to the Yezidi village of Ain Sifni. Its white houses and conical tombs had long been visible on the declivity of a low hill; its cleanliness was a relief after the filth of Mussulman and Christian habitations. I had expected to find here Shiekh Naser, the religious chief of the Yezidis. As he was absent I continued my journey, after partaking of the hospitality of the chief of the village, to the tomb of Shiekh Adi. A ride of two hours through a pleasant valley, watered by a mountain torrent, whose banks were concealed by flowering oleanders, brought us to a well-wooded basin, in the centre of which rose the white spire of the tomb of the great Yezidi saint.

I was soon stretched by a fountain in the cool shade, flung over the tomb by a cluster of lofty trees, and gave myself up to a full flow of gratitude, at this sudden change from the sultry heat and salt streams of the plains, to the verdure and sweet springs of the Kurdish Hills. There were "pleasure-places" enough for all my party, and each eagerly seized his tree, and his fountain. The guardians of the tomb, and a few wanderers from a neighbouring village, gathered round me, and satisfied my curiosity as far as their caution and prejudices would allow. But I will defer until I relate my second visit to this place,

a fuller description of the spot, and such information as I could collect relative to the singular rites and traditions of the disciples of Shiekh Adi.

We passed the night on the roof of one of the buildings within the precincts of the sacred edifice, and continued our journey at dawn on the following morning.

Quitting the Yezidi district, we entered the mountains inhabited by the large Kurdish tribe of Missouri. The valleys were well wooded; many-shaped rocks towered above our heads, or hung over the streams of the Gomel *, which almost cut off our passage through the narrow defiles. A few villages were scattered on the declivities, but their inhabitants had deserted them for rude huts, built of branches of trees, their summer habitations.

In four hours we reached the large village of Kaloni, or Kalah-oni, built amongst vineyards, and hanging over the bed of the Gomel. The houses, well constructed of stone, were empty. Huge horns of the ibex ornamented the lintels of the gateways, and the corners of the buildings. The inhabitants were at some distance, on the banks of the stream, living under the trees in their temporary sheds.

These Kurds were of the Badinan branch of the Missouri tribe. Their chief, whose hut was in the midst of this group of simple dwellings, was absent; but his wife received me with hospitality. Carpets, the work of her own women, were spread under a

* Or Gomer; this stream forms the principal branch of the Ghazir or Bumadus.

mulberry tree; and large bowls of milk and cream, wooden platters filled with boiled rice, slices of honey-comb, and baskets of new-gathered fruit, were speedily placed before us. The men sat at a respectful distance, and readily gave me such information as I asked for. The women, unembarrassed by the veil, brought straw to our horses, or ran to and fro with their pitchers. Their hair fell in long tresses down their backs, and their foreheads were adorned with rows of coins and beads; many were not unworthy of the reputation for beauty which the women of Missouri enjoy.

The spot was rich in natural beauties. The valley, shut in by lofty rocks, was well wooded with fruit trees — the mulberry, the peach, the fig, the walnut, the olive, and the pomegranate; beneath them sprang the vine, or were laid out plots of Indian corn, sesame, and cotton. The sheds were built of boughs; and the property of the owners, carpets, horse-cloths, and domestic utensils, were spread out before them. From almost every door, mingling with the grass and flowers, stretched the many-coloured threads of the loom, at which usually sat one female of the family. There was a cleanliness, and even richness, in the dresses of both women and men, an appearance of comfort and industry, which contrasted strikingly with the miserable state of the people of the plain; and proved that these Kurds had been sufficiently fortunate to escape the notice of the last governor of Mosul, and were reserved for some more scrutinising Pasha.

I acknowledged the hospitality of the Kurdish lady by a present to her son, and rode up to the small Chaldæan village of Bebozi, standing on the summit of a high mountain. The ascent was most precipitous, and the horses could with difficulty reach the place. We found a group of ten houses, built on the edge of a cliff overhanging the valley, at so great a height, that the stream below was scarcely visible. The inhabitants were poor, but received us with unaffected hospitality. I had left the usual road to Amadiyah for the purpose of visiting an inscription, said to exist near this village. A guide was soon found to conduct me to the spot of which I had heard; but after toiling up a most precipitous pathway, I was shown a rock on which were only a few rude marks, bearing no resemblance to any writing that had ever been invented. I was accustomed to such disappointments, and always prepared for them. I returned to the village and visited the small church. The people of Bebozi are amongst those Chaldæans who have very recently become Catholics, and are but a too common instance of the mode in which such proselytes are made. In the church I saw a few miserable prints, dressed up in all the horrors of red, yellow, and blue, miracles of saints and of the blessed Virgin, and a hideous infant in swaddling clothes, under which was written "l'Iddio, bambino." They had recently been stuck up against the bare walls. "Can you understand these pictures," I asked. "No," was the reply; "we did not place them here; when our priest (a Nestorian) died a short time ago,

Mutran Yusuf, the Catholic bishop, came to us. He put up these pictures, and told us that we were to adore them. We pulled them down again; but for doing so our Kiayahs (heads of the village) were bastinadoed by Mahmoud Agha, the chief of Missouri, and we got our heads broken. We now, therefore, leave them where they are. And as the Kurds have been bribed not to allow a Nestorian priest to come to the village, we are compelled to hear the Catholic priest, whom Mutran Yusuf occasionally sends us." On the altar and reading-desk, were a few books— forms of prayer, rituals, and the scriptures used by the Chaldæans. They had not been changed, only the name of Nestorius had been carefully blotted out with a pen, and the Sunday worship of the new proselytes, with the exception of a few prostrations to the pictures, remained as it was before their conversion.

I returned to the house at which I had alighted, and endeavoured to sleep. Ionunco, however, had engaged in a controversy on the merits of their respective creeds with some Chaldæans, strangers from a neighbouring village, whose conversion was of a more ancient date, and more complete, than that of the people of Bebozi. I was fain to cover my face with my cloak, and to lie and listen. The dispute waxed warm. Ionunco brought to bear all the texts he had gathered during a prolonged residence with the patriarch, and other dignitaries of his Church. The converts quoted the arguments which had turned them from their errors. Those of Bebozi listened in

admiration to a learned discussion on the distinction of the persons. The strangers then insisted on the advantage of recognising and being under the Pope. "The Pope," exclaimed the irritated Ionunco, "may be very useful; but as far as I am concerned, I would not change him against my donkey!" This irreverent sally would have been the signal for a general commencement of hostilities, had I not interfered. Ionunco was ordered to saddle his mare, and we resumed our journey.

After crossing a range of hills, covered by a forest of dwarf oak, we descended into the valley of Cheloki, and reached about sunset the large Kurdish village of Spandareh, so called from its poplar trees, "spandar." The inhabitants, alarmed at the formidable appearance of our party, were inclined to shirk the duties of hospitality; and it required a few stringent measures before we could convince them that ours was a friendly, not a hostile, invasion.

We were now separated from the valley of Amadiyah by a range of high and well-wooded mountains called Ghara. This we crossed by a road little frequented, and of so precipitous a nature that our horses could scarcely keep their footing — one, indeed, carrying part of our baggage, suddenly disappeared over the edge of a rock, and was found some hundred feet below, on his back, firmly wedged between two rocks; how he got there with nothing but the bone of his tail broken, was a mystery beyond the comprehension of our party. The valley of Amadiyah, chiefly a sandstone deposit, is cut up into innumerable ravines by the

torrents, which rush down the mountains and force their way to the river Zab. It is, however, well wooded with oaks, producing in abundance the galls for which this district is celebrated. The peasants were picking them at the time of our journey; and as this year the crop was abundant, I had an opportunity of distinguishing between the trees which produce them, and those which do not.

The town and fort of Amadiyah had been visible from the crest of the Ghara range; but we had a long ride before us, and it was nearly mid-day ere we reached the foot of the lofty isolated rock on which they are built. We rested in the small Chaldæan village of Bebadi, one of the few in the Amadiyah district which had not gone over to the Catholic party. The inhabitants were miserably poor, and I had to listen to a long tale of wretchedness and oppression. The church was hung with a few tattered cotton handkerchiefs, and the priest's garments were to match. I gave him two or three pieces of common print, out of which he made a turban for himself, and beautified the altar.

The plain of Amadiyah contains many Chaldæan villages, which were formerly very flourishing. Most of them have now been deserted, and the inhabitants have taken refuge in the higher mountains from the violence and tyranny of Kurds and Turkish governors, and from the no less galling oppression of proselytising bishops.

A few half-clothed, fever-stricken Albanians were slumbering on the stone benches as we entered the

gates of the fort, which certainly during the season of Ramazan, if not at all others, might be taken by surprise by a few resolute Kurds. We found ourselves in the midst of a heap of ruins—porches, bazaars, baths, habitations, all laid open to their inmost recesses. Falling walls would have threatened passers-by, had there been any; but the place was a desert. We had some difficulty in finding our way to a crumbling ruin, honoured with the name of Serai — the Palace. Here the same general sleep prevailed. Neither guards nor servants were visible, and we wandered through the building until we reached the room of the governor. His hangers-on were indulging in comfort and sleep upon the divans, and we had some trouble in rousing them. We were at length taken to a large room, in a tower built on the very edge of the rock, and overlooking the whole valley — the only remnant of the state of the old hereditary Pashas of Amadiyah. A refreshing breeze came down from the mountain, the view was extensive and beautiful, and I forgot the desolation and misery which reigned around.

A few miserable Nestorian Chaldæans, and one or two half-starved Jews, came to me with the usual melancholy tale of distress; and shortly after Kasha Mendi, a worthy ecclesiastic, who ministered to the spiritual wants of half the villages in the valley, hearing of my arrival, joined the party. The priest was, of course, better informed than the rest; and from him I obtained the information I required as to the state of the Chaldæans in the district, and as to

the means of reaching Tiyari. The Albanian irregulars were to leave me here, as the authority of the Pasha of Mosul did not extend beyond. We were now to enter the territories of Kurdish chiefs, who scarcely admitted any dependence upon the Porte. I determined upon sending all my horses, except one, with the Albanians to Dohuk, there to await my return, and to hire mules for the rest of my journey.

It was the hour of afternoon prayer before Selim Agha, the Mutesellim or governor, emerged from his harem; which, however, as far as the fair sex were concerned, was empty.

The old gentleman, who was hungry, half asleep, and in the third stage of the ague, hurried through the ordinary salutations, and asked at once for quinine. His attendants exhibited illustrations of every variety of the fever; some shivered, others glowed, and the rest sweated. He entreated me to go with him into the harem; his two sons were buried beneath piles of cloaks, carpets, and grain-sacks, but the whole mass trembled with the violence of their shaking. I dealt out emetics and quinine with a liberal hand, and returned to the Salamlik, to hear from Selim Agha a most doleful history of fever, diminished revenues, arrears of pay, and rebellious Kurds. He was a native of Zillah, in Asia Minor, where he had been Nefous Emini, a kind of public registrar and tax-gatherer, and had followed in the train of the late Pasha to seek his fortunes in the south. He sighed as he talked of his native place, a flourishing, healthy market town; and the tears ran down his cheeks as he recapitulated his

manifold misfortunes, and entreated me to intercede with the governor of Mosul for his advancement or recall. I left him with his watch in his hand, anxiously looking for sunset, that he might console himself with a dose of tartar emetic.

Amâdiyah was formerly a place of considerable importance and strength, and contained a very large and flourishing population. It was governed by hereditary Pashas—feudal chiefs, who traced their descent from the Abbaside Caliphs, and were always looked up to, on that account, with religious respect by the Kurds. The ladies of this family were no less venerated, and enjoyed the very peculiar title for a woman of "Khan." The last of these hereditary chiefs was Ismail Pasha; who long defied, in his almost inaccessible castle, the attempts of Injeh Bairakdar Mohammed Pasha to reduce him. A mine was at length sprung under a part of the wall, which, from its position, the Kurds had believed safe from attack, and the place was taken by assault. Ismail Pasha was sent a prisoner to Baghdad, where he still remains; and his family, amongst whom was his beautiful wife, Esma Khan, not unknown to the Europeans of Mosul, together with Mohammed Seyyid Pasha of Akra *, a member of the same race, long lived upon the bounty of Mr. Rassam. Amadiyah is frequently mentioned by the early Arab geographers and historians, and its foundation dates, most probably, from a very early epoch. Kasha Mendi casually confirmed to me the assertion of Rich, that

* A district to the east of Amadiyah.

the town was once called Ecbatana, by saying that he had seen a very early Chaldæan MS. in which Amadiyah was so named. The only remains that I could discover about the town were a defaced bas-relief on the rock near the northern gate, of which sufficient alone was distinguishable to enable me to assign to it an approximate date — the time of the Arsacian kings; and some excavations in the rock within the walls, which appear to have been used at an early period as a Christian church. Amadiyah is proverbially unhealthy, notwithstanding its lofty and exposed position. At this time of the year the inhabitants leave the town for the neighbouring mountains, in the valleys of which they construct "ozailis," or sheds, with boughs. The population has greatly diminished since the reduction of the place by the Turks, and the salian, or property-tax, now yields only 20,000 piasters (less than 200*l.*) a year. The castle is considered of great importance as a key to Kurdistan, and is defended by 300 Albanians and a small party of artillerymen with three guns.

I made my way through the deserted streets to a small enclosure, in which were the quarters of the Albanians. The disposable force may have consisted of three men; the rest were stretched out on all sides, suffering under every stage of fever, amidst heaps of filth and skins of water melons, showing the nature and extent of their commissariat. One of their chiefs boasted that he had braved the fever, and insisted upon my drinking coffee, and smoking a nar-

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guileh of no very prepossessing appearance with him. He even indulged so far in mirth and revelry, that he disturbed a shivering youth basking in the last rays of the sun, and brought him to play upon a santour, which had lost the greater number of its strings. An air of his native mountains brought back his melancholy, and he dwelt upon the miseries of an irregular's life, when there was neither war nor plunder. The evening gun announced sunset whilst I was sitting with the chief; and I left the garrison as they were breaking their fast on donkey-loads of unripe water-melons.

On my return to the Serai, I found the governor recovering from the effects of his emetic, and anxious for his dinner. As it was a season of festivity and open house, one Ismail Agha from Tepelin (the Albanian chief in command of the garrison), the Cadi, the collector of the revenue, a Kurdish chief, and one or two others came as guests. Our meal gave undoubted proofs either of the smallness of the means of Selim Agha, or of the limited resources of the country. When the dinner was over, I introduced a theological subject as becoming the season, and the Cadi entered deeply into the subject of predestination and free will. The reckless way in which the Albanian threw himself into the argument astonished the company, and shocked the feelings of the expounder of the law. His views of the destinies of man were bold and original; he appealed to me for a confirmation of his opinions, and assuming that I fully concurred with him, and that he had silenced the Cadi, who was ejaculating a pious

"Istaffer Allah" (may God forgive him), he finished by asking me to breakfast.

Next morning I left my guards and the attendants of the Governor collecting mules for my journey from the peasants who had brought provisions to the town, and after some difficulty found my way to the quarters of Ismail Agha. They were in a small house, the only habitable spot in the midst of a heap of ruins. His room was hung round with guns, swords, and yataghans, and a few dirty Albanians, armed to the teeth, were lounging at the door. The chief had adorned himself most elaborately. His velvet jacket was covered with a maze of gold embroidery, his arms were of the most costly description, and ample fur cloaks were spread over the dingy divans. It was a strange display of finery in the midst of misery. He received me with great cordiality; and when he found that I had been to his old haunts in his native land, and had known his friends and kindred, his friendship exceeded all reasonable bounds. "We are all brothers, the English and the Tosques;" exclaimed he, endeavouring to embrace me; "we are all Framasouns*; I know nothing of these Turks and their Ramazan, thank God! Our stomachs were given us to be filled, and our mouths to take in good things." He accompanied these words with a very significant signal to one of his followers, who was at no loss to understand its meaning, and set about forming a pyramid of

* The term Framasoun (or Freemason), as well as Protestant, are in the East, I am sorry to say, equivalent to infidel. The Roman Catholic missionaries have very industriously spread the calumny.

cushions, on the top of which he mounted at the imminent risk of his neck, and reached down from a shelf a huge bottle of wine, and a corresponding pitcher of raki. Ismail Agha then dived into the recesses of a very capacious but ill-looking purse, out of which he pulled twenty paras *, its sole contents; and despatched without delay one of his attendants to the stall of a solitary grocer, who was apparently the only commercial survivor in the wreck around him. The boy soon returned with a small parcel of parched peas, a few dates, and three lumps of sugar, which were duly spread on a tray and placed before us as zests to the wine and brandy. It was evident that Ismail Agha had fully made up his mind to a morning's debauch, and my position was an uncomfortable one. After drinking a few glasses of raki in solitary dignity, he invited his followers to join him. Messengers were despatched in all directions for music; a Jew with the ague, the band of the regiment, consisting of two cracked dwarf kettledrums and a fife, and two Kurds with a fiddle and a santour, were collected together. I took an opportunity of slipping out of the room unseen, amidst the din of Albanian songs and the dust of Palicari dances.

On my return to the Serai I found the mules ready, the owners having been at length brought to understand that it was my intention to pay for their hire. Every thing being settled, and the animals loaded, I

* About one penny.

wished the Mutesellim good day, and promised to bring his miserable condition to the notice of the Pasha. A Kurdish chief was to accompany me as far as Abd-ul-Summit Bey's, to whom I was strongly recommended.

We left Amadiyah by the opposite gate to that by which we had entered. We were obliged to descend on foot the steep pathway leading to the valley below. Crossing some well-cultivated gardens, we commenced the ascent of the mountains through a wooded ravine, and came suddenly upon the Yilaks, or summer quarters of the population of Amadiyah. The spot was well chosen. The torrent was divided into a thousand streams, which broke over the rocks, falling in cascades into the valley below. Fruit and forest trees concealed the sheds and tents, and creepers of many hues almost covered the sides of the ravine. All our party enjoyed the delicious coolness and fragrance of the place; and we did not wonder that the people of Amadiyah had left the baneful air of the town for these pleasant haunts. An hour's ride brought us to the summit of the pass, from which a magnificent view of the Tiyari mountains opened upon us. Ionunco became eloquent when he saw his native Alps before him. He named one by one the lofty peaks which sprang out of the confused heap of hills; that of Asheetha and several others were covered with snow. Below us was the extensive valley of Berwari, which separates the range of Amadiyah from the Nestorian country. At a short distance from the crest of the mountain we found a small barren plain, called

Nevdasht, in which stands the Kurdish village of Maglàna. We reached Hayis, a Nestorian hamlet, about sunset. There were only four families in the place, so poor that we could only procure a little boiled meal, and some dried mulberries for our supper. The poor creatures, however, did all they could to make us comfortable, and gave us what they had.

The valley of Berwari is well wooded with the gall-bearing oak; and the villages, which are numerous, are surrounded by gardens and orchards. The present chief of the district is a fanatic, and has almost ruined the Christian population. In all the villages through which we passed, we saw the same scene and heard the same tale of wretchedness. Yet the land is fruitful, water plentiful, and the means of cultivation easy. Fruit trees of many descriptions abound; and tobacco, rice, and grain of various kinds could be raised to any extent. Even the galls afford but a scanty gain to the villagers, as Abd-ul-Summit Bey has monopolised them, and those who pick are compelled to deliver them to the chief at a very small price. The villages are partly inhabited by Kurds and partly by Nestorian Chaldæans; there are no Catholics amongst them. Many of the Christian villages have been reduced to no more than five or six houses, and some have only two or three. We stopped at several during our day's journey. The men, with the priests, were generally absent picking galls; the women were seated in circles under the trees, clipping the grapes and immersing them in boiling water previous to drying them for raisins.

We were everywhere received with the same hospitality, and everywhere found the same poverty. Even Ibrahim Agha, who had been enured to the miseries of misgovernment, grew violent in his expressions of indignation against Abd-ul-Summit Bey, and indulged in a variety of threats against all the male and female members of his family.

The waters of the mountain torrents collected in the valley, form a branch of the Khabour, and the river is sufficiently deep, during the rainy season and spring, to admit of rafts being floated from Berwari to the Tigris. At that time of the year poplars, oaks, and other trees, are thus sent to Mosul. The most important produce of the valley is the gall-nut, which abounds. Were agriculture encouraged, the inhabitants might carry on a lucrative trade with Mosul in many useful articles; but at present the Christians are too much exposed to the rapacity of the Kurds, and the Mohammedans are too idle, to cultivate the land to any extent. The district is very insecure; and Abd-ul-Summit Bey loses no opportunity of shedding the blood of the Christians of the mountains. During the massacre in Tiyari many of those who succeeded in making their escape, were put to death by his orders, when passing through his territories. Zeinel Bey, the blood-thirsty agent of Beder Khan Bey, is a cousin of this chief.

The castle of Kumri or Gumri, the residence of Abd-ul-Summit Bey, stands on the pinnacle of a lofty isolated rock, and may be seen from most parts of the valley of Berwari. It is a small mud fort, but is

looked upon as an impregnable place by the Kurds. The chief had evidently received notice of my approach, and probably suspected that the object of my visit was an inspection, for no friendly purposes, of his stronghold; for as we came near to the foot of the hill, we saw him hastening down a precipitous pathway on the opposite side, as fast as his horse could carry him. A mullah, one of his hangers on, having been sent to meet us on the road, informed us that his master had left the castle early in the morning, for a distant village, whither we could follow him. Not having any particular wish to make a closer inspection of Kalah Kumri, I struck into the hills, and took the pathway pointed out by the mullah.

We rode through several Kurdish villages, surrounded by gardens, and well watered by mountain streams. A pass of some elevation had to be crossed before we could reach the village of Mia, our quarters for the night. Near its summit we found a barren plain, on which several Kurdish horsemen, who had joined us, engaged with my own party in the Jerid. The mimic fight soon caused general excitement, and old habits getting the better of my dignity, I joined the *mêlée*. A severe kick in the leg from a horse soon put an end to my manœuvres, and the party was detained until I was sufficiently recovered from the effects of the blow to continue our journey. It was sunset consequently before we reached Mia. There are two villages of this name; the upper, inhabited by Mohammedans, the lower by Nestorian Chaldæans. A Kurd met us as we were entering the

former, with a message from Abd-ul-Summit Bey, to the effect that, having guests, he could not receive us there, but had provided a house in the Christian village, where he would join us after his dinner. I rode on to the lower Mia, and found a party of Kurds belabouring the inhabitants, and collecting old carpets and household furniture. Finding that these proceedings were partly meant as preparations for our reception, though the greater share of the objects collected was intended for the comfort of the Bey's mussulman guests, I at once put a stop to the pillaging, and released the sufferers. We found a spacious and cleanly roof; and with the assistance of the people of the house, who were ready enough to assist when they learnt we were Christians, established ourselves for the night.

Soon after dark another messenger came from Abd-ul-Summit to say that as the Cadi and other illustrious guests were with the Bey, he could not visit me before the morning. I had from the first suspected that these delays and excuses had an object, and that the chief wished to give a proof of his dignity to the Kurds, by treating me in as unceremonious a manner as possible; so, calling the Kurd and addressing him in a loud voice, that the people who had gathered round the house might hear, I requested him to be the bearer of a somewhat uncivil answer to his master, and took care that he should fully understand its terms. Ionunco's hair stood on end at the audacity of this speech, and the Nestorians trembled at the results. Ibrahim Agha

tittered with delight; and pushing the Kurd away by the shoulders, told him to be particular in delivering his answer. The message had the effect I had anticipated; an hour afterwards, shuffling over the house-tops at the great risk of his shins, and with a good chance of disappearing down a chimney, came the Bey. He was enveloped in a variety of cloaks; he wore, after the manner of the Bohtan chiefs, a turban of huge dimensions, about four feet in diameter, made up of numberless handkerchiefs and rags of every hue of red, yellow, and black; his jacket and wide trowsers were richly embroidered; and in his girdle were all manner of weapons. In person he was tall and handsome; his eyes were dark, his nose aquiline, and his beard black; but the expression of his face was far from prepossessing. I left him to open the conversation, which he did by a multiplicity of excuses and apologies for what had passed, not having, by the Prophet, been aware, he said, of the rank of the guest by whose presence he had been honoured. I pointed out to him one or two fallacies in his assertions; and we came to a distinct understanding on the subject, before we proceeded to general topics. He sat with me till midnight, and entered, amongst other things, into a long justification of his conduct towards Christians, which proved that his authority was not established as well as he could desire. In dealing with a Kurd, you are generally safe as long as you can make him believe that you are his superior, or his equal.

In the morning the Bey sent me a breakfast and a

party of Kurdish horsemen to accompany us as far as the Tiyari frontier, which was not far distant. Beyond Mia we passed through Bedou, the largest and most populous Kurdish village I had seen. The valley was generally well cultivated; the chief produce appeared to be tobacco and rice, with "garas" and "uthra," two kinds of grain, of the English names of which I am ignorant. The garas is, I think, millet.

Our guards would not venture into the territories of the Tiyari, between whom and the Kurds there are continual hostilities, and quitted us in a narrow desolate valley, up which our road to Asheetha now led. I lectured my party on the necessity of caution during our future wanderings; and reminded my Cawass and Mohammedan servants that they had no longer the quiet Christians of the plains to deal with. Resigning ourselves to the guidance of Ionunco, who now felt that he was on his own soil, we made our way with difficulty over the rocks and stones with which the valley is blocked up, and struck into what our guide represented to be a short cut to Asheetha. The pathway might certainly, on some occasions, have been used by the mountain goats; but the passage of horses and mules was a miracle. After a most tedious walk, we reached the top of the pass and looked down on the village. From this spot the eye rested upon a scene of great beauty. In front rose the lofty peak, with its snows and glaciers, visible even from Mosul. At our feet the village spread over the whole valley; and detached houses, surrounded by

gardens and orchards, were scattered over the sides of the mountains. To the right ran the valley which leads to the Zab. We had little difficulty in descending through the loose stones and detritus which cover the face of the mountain, although both our mules and ourselves had frequent falls. On reaching the entrance of the valley, we rode at once to the house of Yakoub, the rais or chief of Asheetha, who received us with grateful hospitality.

CHAP. VII.

ASHEETHA. — A NESTORIAN HOUSE. — THE MASSACRE. — ZAWEETHA. — NESTORIAN PRIESTS. — MURGHI. — LIZAN. — SCENE OF THE MASSACRE. — A TIYARI BRIDGE. — RAOLA. — THE HOUSE OF THE MELEK. — TIYARI WOMEN. — THE DISTRICT OF TKHOMA. — ALARM OF THE INHABITANTS. — CHURCH SERVICE. — TKHOMA GOWAIA. — A KURDISH CHIEF. — PASS INTO BAZ. — ERGUB. — RETURN TO TKHOMA. — BE-ALATHA. — ROADS OF TIYARI. — CHONBA. — MURDER OF MELEK ISMAIL. — RETURN TO ASHEETHA. — KASHA AURAHAM. — A COPPER MINE. — CHALLEK. — OURMELI. — A SUBASHI. — A KURDISH SAINT. — MALTHAYIAH. — SCULPTURES. — ALKOSH. — TOMB OF THE PROPHET NAHUM. — RABBAN HORMUZD. — TELKEF AND ITS CHRISTIAN INHABITANTS. — RETURN TO MOSUL. — SECOND MASSACRE IN THE NESTORIAN MOUNTAINS. — CAPTURE AND EXILE OF BEDER KHAN BEY.

We had no sooner reached the house of Yakoub Rais, than a cry of "The Bey is come," spread rapidly through the village, and I was surrounded by a crowd of men, women, and boys. My hand was kissed by all, and I had to submit for some time to this tedious process. As for my companion, he was almost smothered in the embraces of the girls, nearly all of whom had been liberated from slavery after the great massacre, or had been supported by his brother for some months in Mosul.* Amongst the men were

* It may be remembered, that Beder Khan Bey, in 1843, invaded the Tiyari districts, massacred in cold blood nearly 10,000 of their inhabitants, and carried away as slaves a large number of girls and children. But it is perhaps not generally known, that the release of the greater part of the captives was obtained through the humane interference and generosity of Sir Stratford Canning, who prevailed upon the Porte to send a commissioner into Kurdistan, for the purpose of inducing Beder

many of my old workmen, who were distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants of Asheetha by their gay dresses and arms, the fruits of their industry during the winter. They were anxious to show their gratitude, and their zeal in my service. The priests came too; Kasha Ghioorghis, Kasha Hormuzd, and others. As they entered the room, the whole assembly rose; and lifting their turbans and caps reverentially from their heads, kissed the hand extended to them. In the mean while the girls had disappeared; but soon returned, each bearing a platter of fruit, which they placed before me. My workmen also brought large dishes of boiled garas swimming in butter. There were provisions enough for the whole company.

The first inquiries were after Mar Shamoun, the Patriarch. I produced his letter, which the priests first kissed and placed to their foreheads. They afterwards passed it to the principal men, who went through the same ceremony. Kasha Ghioorghis then read the letter aloud, and at its close, those present uttered a pious ejaculation for the welfare of their Patriarch, and renewed their expressions of welcome to us.

These preliminaries having been concluded, we had to satisfy all present as to the object, extent, and

Khan Bey and other Kurdish chiefs, to give up the slaves they had taken, and advanced, himself, a considerable sum towards their liberation. Mr. Rassam also obtained the release of many slaves, and maintained and clothed at his own expense, and for several months, not only the Nestorian Patriarch, who had taken refuge in Mosul, but many hundred Chaldæans who had escaped from the mountains.

probable duration of our journey. The village was in the greatest alarm at a threatened invasion from Beder Khan Bey. The district of Tkhoma, which had escaped the former massacre, was now the object of his fanatical vengeance. He was to march through Asheetha, and orders had already been sent to the inhabitants to collect provisions for his men. As his expedition was not to be undertaken before the close of Ramazan, there was full time to see the proscribed districts before the Kurds entered them. I determined, however, to remain a day in Asheetha, to rest our mules.

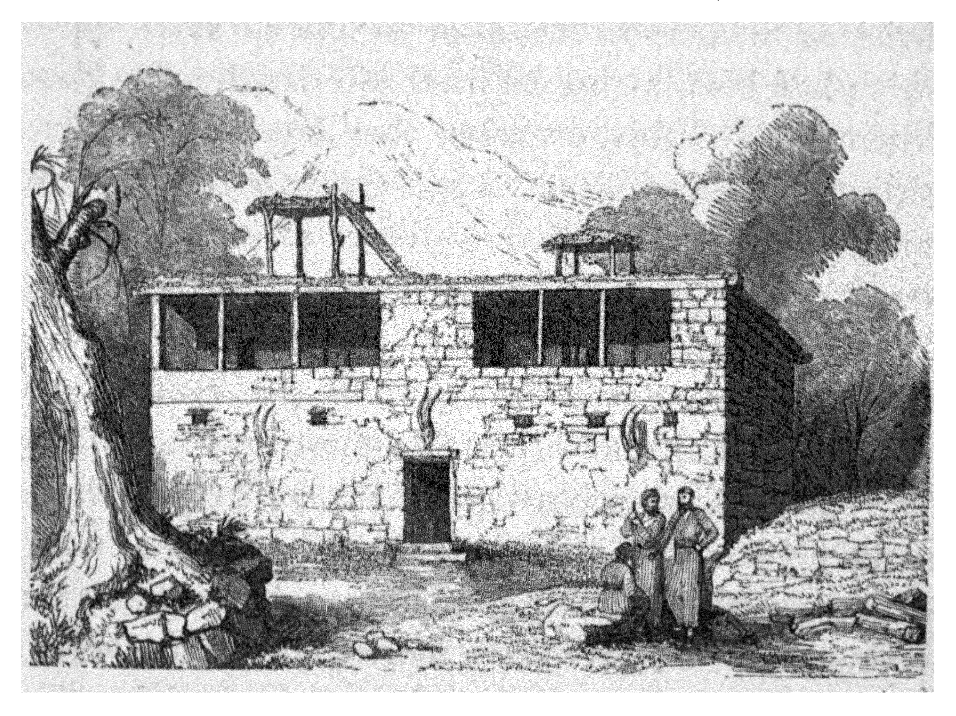
On the morning following our arrival, I went with Yakoub Rais to visit the village. The trees and luxuriant crops had concealed the desolation of the place, and had given to Asheetha, from without, a flourishing appearance. As I wandered, however, through the lanes, I found little but ruins. A few houses were rising from the charred heaps; the greater part of the sites, however, were without owners, the whole family having perished. Yakoub pointed out, as we went along, the former dwellings of wealthy inhabitants, and told me how and where they had been murdered. A solitary church had been built since the massacre, the foundations of others were seen amongst the ruins. The pathways were still blocked up by the trunks of trees cut down by the Kurds. Watercourses, once carrying fertility to many gardens were now empty and dry; and the lands which they had irrigated were left naked and unsown. I was surprised at the proofs of the industry and activity of

the few surviving families, who had returned to the village, and had already brought a large portion of the land into cultivation.

The houses of Asheetha, like those of the Tiyari districts *, are not built in a group, but are scattered over the valley. Each dwelling stands in the centre of the land belonging to its owner; consequently, the village occupies a much larger space than would otherwise be required, but has a cheerful and pleasing appearance. The houses are simple, and constructed so as to afford protection and comfort, during winter and summer. The lower part is of stone, and contains two or three rooms inhabited by the family and their cattle during the cold months. Light is admitted by the door, and by small holes in the wall. There are no windows, as in the absence of glass, a luxury as yet unknown in Kurdistan, the cold would be very great during the winter, when the inhabitants are frequently snowed up for many days together. The upper floor is constructed partly of stone, and partly of wood, the whole side facing the south being open. Enormous beams, resting on wooden pillars and on the walls, support the roof. This is the summer habitation, and here all the members of the family reside. During July and August, they usually sleep on the roof, upon which they erect stages of boughs and grass resting on high poles. By thus raising themselves as much above the

* Asheetha and Zaweetha were formerly looked upon as half-independent districts, each having its own Rais or head. They were neither within the territories nor under the authority of the Meleks of Tiyari.

ground as possible, they avoid the vermin which swarm in the rooms, and catch the night wind which carries away the gnats. Sometimes they build these stages in the branches of high trees around the houses. The winter provision of dried grass and straw for the cattle is stacked near the dwelling, or is heaped on the roof.



A NES ... TIYARI.

As this was the first year that the surviving inhabitants of Asheetha, about 200 families, had returned to the village and had cultivated the soil, they were almost without provisions of any kind. We were obliged to send to Zaweetha for meat and rice; and even milk was scarce, the flocks having been carried away by the Kurds. Garas was all we could

find to eat. They had no corn, and very little barley. Their bread was made of this garas, and upon it alone they lived, except when on holidays they boiled the grain, and soaked it in melted butter.

The men were now busy in irrigating the land; and seemed to be rewarded by the promise of ample crops of their favourite grain, and of wheat, barley, rice, and tobacco. The boys kept up a continued shrill shriek or whistle to frighten away the small birds, which had been attracted in shoals by the ripe corn. When tired of this exercise, they busied themselves with their partridges. Almost every youth in the country carries one of these birds at his back, in a round wicker cage. Indeed, whilst the mountains and the valleys swarm with wild partridges, the houses are as much infested by the tame. The women, too, were not idle. The greater part of them, even the girls, were beating out the corn, or employed in the fields. A few were at the doors of the houses working at the loom, or spinning wool for the clothes of the men. I never saw more general or cheerful industry; even the priests took part in the labours of their congregation.

I walked to the ruins of the school and dwelling-house, built by the American missionaries during their short sojourn in the mountains. These buildings had been the cause of much jealousy and suspicion to the Kurds. They stand upon the summit of an isolated hill, commanding the whole valley. A position less ostentatious and proportions more modest might certainly have been chosen; and it is sur-

prising that persons, so well acquainted with the character of the tribes amongst whom they had come to reside, should have been thus indiscreet. They were, however, most zealous and worthy men; and had their plans succeeded, I have little doubt that they would have conferred signal benefits on the Nestorian Chaldæans. I never heard their names mentioned by the Tiyari, and most particularly that of Dr. Grant, without expressions of profound respect, amounting almost to veneration.* There are circumstances connected with the massacre of the Nestorians most painful to contemplate, and which I willingly forbear to dwell upon.

During the occupation of Asheetha by the Kurds, Zeinel Bey fortified himself with a few men in the house constructed by the Americans; and the position was so strong, that, holding it against all the attempts of the Tiyari to dislodge him, he kept the whole of the valley in subjection.

Yakoub Rais, who was naturally of a lively and jovial disposition, could not restrain his tears as he related to me the particulars of the massacre. He had been amongst the first seized by Beder Khan Bey; and having been kept by the chief as a kind of hostage, he had been continually with him, during

* Dr. Grant, who published an account of his visit to the mountains, fell a victim to his humane zeal for the Chaldæans in 1844. After the massacre, his house in Mosul was filled with fugitives, whom he supported and clothed. Their sufferings, and the want of common necessaries before they reached the town, had brought on a malignant typhus fever, of which many died, and which Dr. Grant caught whilst attending the sick in his house. Mosul holds the remains of most of those who were engaged in the American missions to the Chaldæans.

the attack on the Tiyari, and had witnessed all the scenes of bloodshed which he so graphically described. The descent upon Asheetha was sudden and unexpected. The greater part of the inhabitants fell victims to the fury of the Kurds, who endeavoured to destroy every trace of the village. We walked to the church, which had been newly constructed by the united exertions and labour of the people. The door was so low, that a person, on entering, had to perform the feat of bringing his back to the level of his knees. The entrances to Christian churches in the East, are generally so constructed that horses and beasts of burthen may not be lodged there by the Mohammedans. A few rituals, a book of prayer, and the Scriptures all in manuscript were lying upon the rude altar; but the greater part of the leaves were wanting, and those which remained were either torn into shreds, or disfigured by damp and water. The manuscripts of the churches were hid in the mountains, or buried in some secure place, at the time of the massacre; but as the priests, who had concealed them, were mostly killed, the books have not been recovered. A few English prints and handkerchiefs from Manchester were hung about the walls; a bottle and a glass, with a tin plate for the sacrament, stood upon a table; a curtain of coarse cloth hung before the inner recess, the Holy of Holies; and these were all the ornaments and furniture of the place.

I visited my former workmen, the priests, and those whom I had seen at Mosul; and as it was expected that I should partake of the hospitality of each,

and eat of the dishes they had prepared for me—generally garas floating in melted rancid butter, with a layer of sour milk above—by the time I reached Yakoub's mansion, my appetite was abundantly satisfied. At the door, however, stood Sarah, and a bevy of young damsels with baskets of fruit mingled with ice, fetched from the glacier; nor would they leave me until I had tasted of every thing.

We lived in a patriarchal way with the Rais. My bed was made in one corner of the room. The opposite corner was occupied by Yakoub, his wife, and unmarried daughters; a third was appropriated to his son and daughter-in-law, and all the members of his son's family; the fourth was assigned to my companion; and various individuals, whose position in our household could not be very accurately determined, took possession of the centre. We slept well nevertheless, and no one troubled himself about his neighbour. Even Ibrahim Agha, whose paradise was Chanak Kalassi, the Dardanelles, to which he always disadvantageously compared every thing, confessed that the Tiyari Mountains were not an unpleasant portion of the Sultan's dominions.

Yakoub volunteered to accompany me in the rest of my journey through the mountains; and as he was generally known, was well acquainted with the by-ways and passes, and a very merry companion withal, I eagerly accepted his offer. We left part of our baggage at his house, and it was agreed that he should occasionally ride one of the mules. He was a very portly person, gaily dressed in an embroidered

jacket and striped trowsers, and carrying a variety of arms in his girdle.

The country through which we passed, after leaving Asheetha, can scarcely be surpassed in the beauty and sublimity of its scenery. The patches of land on the declivities of the mountains were cultivated with extraordinary skill and care. I never saw greater proofs of industry. Our mules, however, were dragged over places almost inaccessible to men on foot; but we forgot the toils and dangers of the way in gazing upon the magnificent prospect before us. Zaweetha is in the same valley as Asheetha. The stream formed by the eternal snows above the latter village, forces its way to the Zab. On the sides of the mountains is the most populous and best cultivated district in Tiyari. The ravine below Asheetha is too narrow to admit of the road being carried along the banks of the torrent; and we were compelled to climb over an immense mass of rocks, rising to a considerable height above it. Frequently the footing was so insecure that it required the united force of several men to carry the mules along by their ears and tails. We, who were unaccustomed to mountain paths, were obliged to have recourse to the aid of our hands and knees.

I had been expected at Zaweetha; and before we entered the first gardens of the village, a party of girls, bearing baskets of fruit, advanced to meet me. Their hair, neatly platted and adorned with flowers, fell down their backs. On their heads they wore coloured handkerchiefs loosely tied, or an embroidered

cap. Many were pretty, and the prettiest was Aslani, a liberated slave, who had been for some time under the protection of Mrs. Rassam; she led the party, and welcomed me to Zaweetha. My hand having been kissed by all, they simultaneously threw themselves upon my companion, and saluted him vehemently on both cheeks; such a mode of salutation, in the case of a person of my rank and distinction, not being, unfortunately, considered either respectful or decorous. The girls were followed by the Rais and the principal inhabitants, and I was led by them into the village.

The Rais of Zaweetha had fortunately rendered some service to Beder Khan Bey, and on the invasion of Tiyari his village was spared. It had not even been deserted by its inhabitants, nor had its trees and gardens been injured. It was consequently, at the time of my visit, one of the most flourishing villages in the mountains. The houses, neat and clean, were still overshadowed by the wide-spreading walnut-tree; every foot of ground which could receive seed, or nourish a plant, was cultivated. Soil had been brought from elsewhere, and built up in terraces on the precipitous sides of the mountains. A small pathway amongst the gardens led us to the house of the Rais.

We were received by Kasha Kana of Lizan, and Kasha Yusuf of Siatha; the first, one of the very few learned priests left among the Nestorian Chaldæans. Our welcome was as unaffected and sincere as it had been at Asheetha. Preparations had been made for our reception, and the women of the family of the

chief were congregated around huge cauldrons at the door of the house, cooking an entire sheep, rice, and garas. The liver, heart, and other portions of the entrails, were immediately cut into pieces, roasted on ramrods, and brought on these skewers into the room. The fruit too, melons, pomegranates, and grapes, all of excellent quality, spread on the floor before us, served to allay our appetites until the breakfast was ready.

Mar Shamoun's letter was read with the usual solemnities by Kasha Kana, and we had to satisfy the numerous inquiries of the company. Their Patriarch was regarded as a prisoner in Mosul, and his return to the mountains was looked forward to with deep anxiety. Everywhere, except in Zaweetha, the churches had been destroyed to their foundations, and the priests put to death. Some of the holy edifices had been rudely rebuilt; but the people were unwilling to use them until they had been consecrated by the Patriarch. There were not priests enough indeed to officiate, nor could others be ordained until Mar Shamoun himself performed the ceremony. These wants had been the cause of great irregularities and confusion in Tiyari; and the Nestorian Chaldæans, who are naturally a religious people, and greatly attached to their churches and ministers, were more alive to them than to any of their misfortunes.

Kasha Kana was making his weekly rounds to the villages which had lost their priests. He carried under his arm a bag full of manuscripts, consisting

chiefly of rituals and copies of the Scriptures; but he had also one or two volumes on profane subjects which he prized highly; amongst them was a Grammar by Rabba Iohannan bar Zoabce, to which he was chiefly indebted for his learning. He read to us—holding as usual the book upside down—a part of the introduction treating of the philosophy and nature of languages, and illustrated the text by various attempts at the delineation of most marvellous alphabets. A taste for the fine arts seemed to prevail generally in the village, and the walls of the Rais's house were covered with sketches of wild goats and snakes in every variety of posture. The young men were eloquent on the subject of the chase, and related their exploits with the wild animals of the mountains. A cousin of the chief, a handsome youth very gaily dressed, had shot a bear a few days before, after a hazardous encounter, and he brought me the skin, which measured seven feet in length. The two great subjects of complaint I found to be the Kurds and the bears, both equally mischievous; the latter carrying off the fruit both when on the trees and when laid out to dry; and the former, the provisions stored for the winter. In some villages in Berwari the inhabitants pretended to be in so much dread of the bears, that they would not venture out alone after dark.

The Rais, finding that I would not accept his hospitality for the night, accompanied us, followed by all the inhabitants, to the outskirts of the village. His frank and manly bearing, and simple kindness, had made a most favourable impression upon me,

and I left him with regret. Kasha Kana, too, fully merited the praise which he received from all who knew him. His appearance was mild and venerable; his beard, white as snow, fell low upon his breast; but his garments were in a very advanced stage of rags. I gave him a few handkerchiefs, some of which were at once gratefully applied to the bettering of his raiment; the remainder being reserved for the embellishment of his parish church. The Kasha is looked up to as the physician, philosopher, and sage of Tiyari, and is treated with great veneration by the people. As we walked through the village, the women left their thresholds and the boys their sports to kiss his hand — a mark of respect, however, which is invariably shown to the priesthood.

We had been joined by Mirza, a confidential servant of Mar Shamoun, and our party was further increased by several men returning to villages on our road. Yakoub Rais kept every one in good humour by his anecdotes, and the absurdity of his gesticulations. Ionunco too, dragging his mare over the projecting rocks, down which he generally contrived to tumble, added to the general mirth, and we went laughing through the valley.

From Zaweetha to the Zab, there is almost an unbroken line of cultivation on both sides of the valley. The two villages of Miniyanish and Murghi are almost buried in groves of walnut-trees, and their peaceful and flourishing appearance deceived me until I wandered amongst the dwellings, and found the same scenes of misery and desolation that I had

witnessed at Asheetha. But nature was so beautiful that we almost forgot the havoc of man, and envied the repose of these secluded habitations. In Miniyanish, out of seventy houses, only twelve had risen from their ruins; the families to which the rest belonged having been totally destroyed. Yakoub pointed out a spot where above three hundred persons had been murdered in cold blood, and all our party had some tale of horror to relate. Murghi was not less desolate than Miniyanish, and eight houses alone had been resought by their owners. We found an old priest, blind and grey, bowed down by age and grief, the solitary survivor of six or eight of his order. He was seated under the shade of a walnut-tree, near a small stream. Some children of the village were feeding him with grapes, and on our approach his daughter ran into the half-ruined cottage, and brought out a basket of fruit and a loaf of garas bread. I endeavoured to glean some information from the old man as to the state of his flock; but his mind wandered to the cruelties of the Kurds, or dwelt upon the misfortunes of his Patriarch, over whose fate he shed many tears. None of our party being able to console the Kasha, I gave some handkerchiefs to his daughter, and we resumed our journey.

Our road lay through the gardens of the villages, or through the forest of gall-bearing oaks which clothe the mountains above the line of cultivation. But it was everywhere equally difficult and precipitous, and we tore our way through the matted boughs of overhanging trees, or the thick foliage of

creepers which hung from every branch. Innumerable rills, led from the mountain springs into the terraced fields, crossed our path and rendered our progress still more tedious. We reached Lizan, however, early in the afternoon, descending to the village through scenery of extraordinary beauty and grandeur.

Lizan stands on the river Zab, which is crossed by a rude bridge. I need not weary or distress the reader with a description of desolation and misery, hardly concealed by the most luxuriant vegetation. We rode to the graveyard of a roofless church slowly rising from its ruins — the first edifice in the village to be rebuilt. We spread our carpets amongst the tombs; for as yet there were no inhabitable houses. The Melek, with the few who had survived the massacre, was living during the day under the trees, and sleeping at night on stages of grass and boughs, raised on high poles, fixed in the very bed of the Zab. By this latter contrivance they succeeded in catching any breeze that might be carried down the narrow ravine of the river, and in freeing themselves from the gnats and sandflies abounding in the valley.

It was near Lizan that occurred one of the most terrible incidents of the massacre; and an active mountaineer offering to lead me to the spot, I followed him up the mountain. Emerging from the gardens we found ourselves at the foot of an almost perpendicular detritus of loose stones, terminated, about one thousand feet above us, by a wall of lofty rocks. Up this ascent we toiled for above an hour,

sometimes clinging to small shrubs, whose roots scarcely reached the scanty soil below; at others crawling on our hands and knees; crossing the gullies to secure a footing, or carried down by the stones which we put in motion as we advanced. We soon saw evidences of the slaughter. At first a solitary skull rolling down with the rubbish; then heaps of blanched bones; further up fragments of rotting garments. As we advanced, these remains became more frequent — skeletons, almost entire, still hung to the dwarf shrubs. I was soon compelled to renounce an attempt to count them. As we approached the wall of rock, the declivity became covered with bones, mingled with the long platted tresses of the women, shreds of discoloured linen, and well-worn shoes. There were skulls of all ages, from the child unborn to the toothless old man. We could not avoid treading on the bones as we advanced, and rolling them with the loose stones into the valley below. "This is nothing," exclaimed my guide, who observed me gazing with wonder on these miserable heaps; "they are but the remains of those who were thrown from above, or sought to escape the sword by jumping from the rock. Follow me!" He sprang upon a ledge running along the precipice that rose before us, and clambered along the face of the mountain overhanging the Zab, now scarcely visible at our feet. I followed him as well as I was able to some distance; but when the ledge became scarcely broader than my hand, and frequently disappeared for three or four feet altogether, I could no longer advance. The Tiyari,

who had easily surmounted these difficulties, returned to assist me, but in vain. I was still suffering severely from the kick received in my leg four days before; and was compelled to return, after catching a glimpse of an open recess or platform covered with human remains.

When the fugitives who had escaped from Asheetha, spread the news of the massacre through the valley of Lizan, the inhabitants of the villages around collected such part of their property as they could carry, and took refuge on the platform I have just described and on the rock above; hoping thus to escape the notice of the Kurds, or to be able to defend, against any numbers, a place almost inaccessible. Women and young children, as well as men, concealed themselves in a spot which the mountain goat could scarcely reach.* Beder Khan Bey was not long in discovering their retreat; but being unable to force it, he surrounded the place with his men, and waited until they should be compelled to yield. The weather was hot and sultry; the Christians had brought but small supplies of water and provisions; after three days the first began to fail them, and they

* When amongst the Bakhtiyari I saw a curious instance of the agility of the women of the mountains. I occupied an upper room in a tower, forming one of the corners in the yard of the chief's harem. I was accustomed to lock my door on the outside with a padlock. The wife of the chief advised me to secure the window also. As I laughed at the idea of any one being able to enter by it, she ordered one of her handmaidens to convince me, which she did at once, dragging herself up in the most marvellous way by the mere irregularities of the bricks. After witnessing this feat, I could believe any thing of the activity of the Kurdish women.

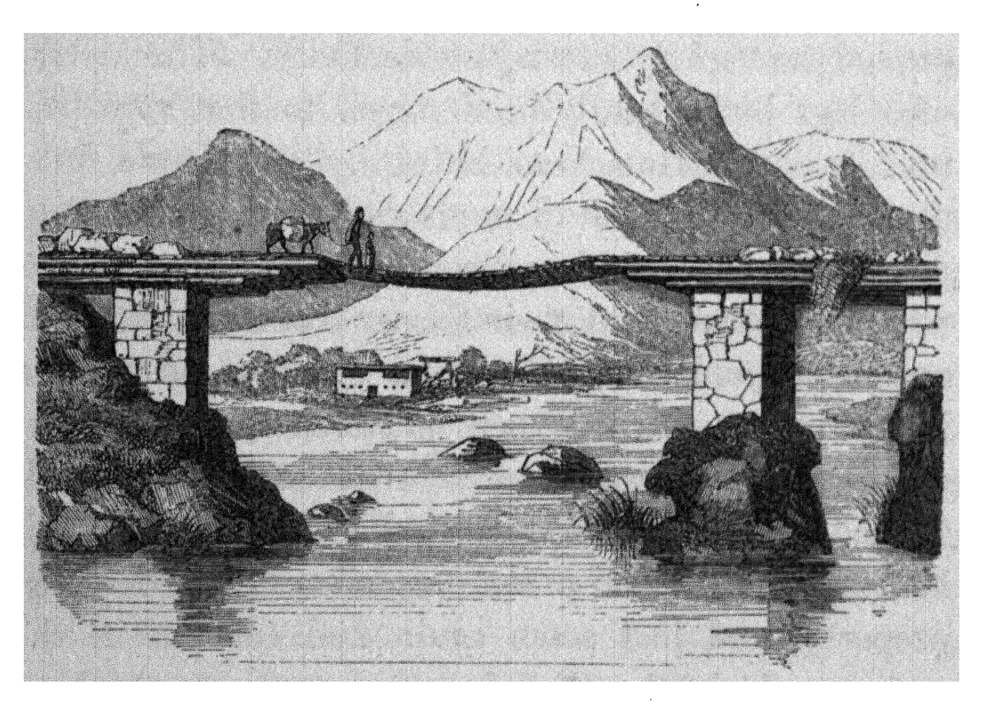
offered to capitulate. The terms proposed by Beder Khan Bey, and ratified by an oath on the Koran, were the surrender of their arms and property. The Kurds were then admitted to the platform. After they had taken the arms from their prisoners, they commenced an indiscriminate slaughter; until weary of using their weapons, they hurled the few survivors from the rocks into the Zab below. Out of nearly one thousand souls, who are said to have congregated here, only one escaped.

We had little difficulty in descending to the village; a moving mass of stones, skulls, and rubbish carried us rapidly down the declivity. The Melek, who had but recently been raised to that rank, his predecessor having been killed by the Kurds, prepared a simple meal of garas and butter — the only provisions that could be procured. The few stragglers who had returned to their former dwellings collected round us, and made the usual inquiries after their Patriarch, or related their misfortunes. As I expressed surprise at the extent of land already cultivated, they told me that the Kurds of some neighbouring villages had taken possession of the deserted property, and had sown grain and tobacco in the spring, which the Tiyari were now compelled to irrigate and look after.

The sun had scarcely set, when I was driven by swarms of insects to one of the platforms in the river. A slight breeze came from the ravine, and I was able to sleep undisturbed.

The bridge across the Zab at Lizan is of basket-

work. Stakes are firmly fastened together with twigs, forming a long hurdle, reaching from one side of the river to the other. The two ends are laid upon beams, resting upon piers on the opposite banks. Both the beams and the basket-work are kept in their places by heavy stones heaped upon them. Animals, as well as men, are able to cross over this frail structure, which swings to and fro, and seems ready to give way at every step. These bridges are of frequent occurrence in the Tiyari mountains.



A WICKE[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]IZAN.

As some of the beams had been broken, the bridge of Lizan formed an acute angle with the stream below, and was scarcely to be crossed by a man on foot. We had consequently to swim the mules and

horses, a labour of no slight trouble and difficulty, as the current was rapid, and the bed of the river choked with rocks. More than an hour was wasted in finding a spot sufficiently clear of stones, and in devising means to induce the animals to enter the water. We resumed our journey on the opposite side of the valley. But before leaving Lizan I must mention the heroic devotion of ten Tiyari girls, from the village of Serspeetho, who, as they were led across the bridge by the Kurds, on their return from the great massacre, — preferring death to captivity and conversion, — threw themselves simultaneously into the Zab, and were drowned in its waters.

We now entered a valley formed by a torrent which joins the Zab below Lizan. On the opposite side, but far in the distance, were the Kurdish villages of the district of Chal*, surrounded by trees and gardens. We passed through the small Chaldæan village of Shoordh, now a heap of ruins, inhabited by a few wretched families, whose priest had been recently put to death by Nur-Ullah Bey, the Chief of the Hakkiari tribes. From Shoordh we descended into a wild and rocky ravine, leading to the once rich and populous valley of Raola. We soon found ourselves on the outskirts of cultivation. A few feet of soil were rescued from the bed of the torrent, and sown with tobacco or garas. These straggling plots led us into a series of

* Their names are Chal, Sershkioutha, Behedri, Beshoukha, Shuraisi, Beea, and Dalasha. The district is under an hereditary chief, Tatar Bey, who pays tribute to the Governor of Amadiyah, and is consequently within the territories of the Pasha of Mosul.

orchards and gardens, extending to the district of Tkhoma.

We were nearly two hours in reaching the house of the Melek.* My party having gradually increased as we rode among the scattered cottages, I was followed by a large company. Melek Khoshaba † had been apprised of my intended visit; for he met us with the priests, and principal inhabitants at some distance from his dwelling. I was much struck by his noble carriage and handsome features. He wore, like the other chiefs, a dress of very gay colours, and a conical cap of felt, slightly embroidered at the edges, in which was stuck an eagle's feather. The men who accompanied him were mostly tall and well made, and were more showily dressed than the inhabitants of other villages through which we had passed. Their heads were shaved, as is customary amongst the Tiyari tribes, a small knot of hair being left uncut on the crown, and allowed to fall in a plat down the back. This tail, with the conical cap, gives them the appearance of Chinese. The boys, in addition to their inseparable partridges, carried cross-bows, with which they molested every small bird that appeared, and almost every one had an eagle's feather in his cap.

We followed the Melek to his house, which stood high above the torrent on the declivity of the mountain. The upper or summer room was large enough to contain all the party. The Melek and priests sat on my carpets; the rest ranged themselves on the bare floor against the walls. The girls brought me, as

* Literally, King, the title given to the chiefs of Tiyari

† A corruption of Khath Shaba, Sunday.

usual, baskets of fruit, and then stood at the entrance of the room. Many of them were very pretty; but the daughter of the chief, a girl of fourteen, excelled them all. I have seldom seen a more lovely form. Her complexion was fair; her features regular; her eyes and hair as black as jet; a continual smile played upon her mouth; and an expression of mingled surprise and curiosity stole over her face, as she examined my dress, or followed my movements. Her tresses, unconfined by the coloured handkerchief bound loosely round her head, fell in disorder down her back, reaching to her waist. Her dress was more gay, and neater, than that of the other women, who evidently confessed her beauty and her rank. I motioned to her to sit down; but that was an honour only reserved for the mother of the Melek, who occupied a corner of the room. At length she approached timidly to examine more closely a pocket compass, which had excited the wonder of the men.

The threatened invasion of Tkhoma by Beder Khan Bey, was the chief subject of conversation, and caused great excitement amongst the inhabitants of Raola. They calculated the means of defence possessed by the villagers of the proscribed district; but whilst wishing them success against the Kurds, they declared their inability to afford them assistance; for they still trembled at the recollection of the former massacre, and the very name of the Bohtan chief struck terror into the hearts of the Tiyari. They entreated me to devise some mode of delivering them from the danger. "It is true," said the Melek, "that

when Nur-Ullah Bey joined Beder Khan Bey in the great massacre, the people of Tkhoma marched with the Kurds against us; but could they do otherwise?—for they feared the chief of Hakkiari. They are our brothers, and we should forgive them; for the Scriptures tell us to forgive even our enemies." This pious sentiment was re-echoed by all the company.

Several men, whose wives and daughters were still in slavery, came to me, thinking that I could relieve them in their misfortune; and there was scarcely any one present who had not some tale of grief to relate. Several members of the family of Melek Khoshaba, including his cousin, to whom he had succeeded in the chiefship, had been killed in the massacre. The villages in the valley of Raola having, however, suffered less than those we had previously visited, were fast returning to their former prosperity.

Whilst we were discussing these matters the women left the room, and I observed them, shortly after, performing their ablutions by a rill in a garden below. They stripped themselves without restraint of all their garments, and loosed their hair over their shoulders. Some stood in the stream, and poured water over one another out of wooden bowls; others combed and platted the long tresses of their companions, who crouched on the grass at their feet. The younger girls and children played in the brook, or ran over the meadow. They remained thus for above an hour, unnoticed by the men, and as unmindful of their presence as if they bathed in some secluded spot, far distant from any human habitation.

The Melek insisted upon accompanying us, with the priests and principal inhabitants, to the end of the valley. As we passed through the village we saw the women bathing at almost every door; nor did they appear at all conscious that we were near them. This simple and primitive mode of washing is thus publicly practised amongst all the Chaldæan tribes, particularly on the Saturday. The men neither heed nor interfere, and their wives and daughters are not the less virtuous or modest.

Although all this district is known as Raola, yet its length has rendered distinct names for various parts of the village necessary. The houses are scattered over the sides of the mountains, and surrounded by gardens and vineyards. A torrent, rising at the head of the valley is divided into innumerable water-courses, carried along the sides of the hills to the most distant plots of cultivation. Its waters are consequently entirely absorbed, except during the period of winter rains, when they seek an outlet in the Zab. The gardens are built up in terraces, and are sown with tobacco, rice, and such vegetables and grains as are peculiar to the mountains. The valley is well wooded with fruit trees, amongst which are the walnut, fig, pomegranate, apple, and mulberry.

Melek Khoshaba accompanied me to a rude monument raised over the bodies of fifty prisoners, who had been murdered at the time of the invasion, and left me at the entrance of the village. We had to pass through a narrow and barren ravine, and a rocky gorge, before entering the district of Tkhoma. Our

path lay in the bed of the torrent; and the mountains, rising precipitously on either side, shut in a scene of extraordinary wildness and solitude. This was the only road by which we could reach Tkhoma, without crossing the lofty ranges of rocks surrounding it on all other sides. A resolute body of men might have held the ravine against any numbers. This was one of the most dangerous tracts we had to traverse during our journey. On the heights above are one or two villages, inhabited by the Apenshai * Kurds, who are always engaged in hostilities with the Tiyari, and fall upon such as are crossing the frontiers of Tkhoma. My party was numerous and well armed, and keeping close together we travelled on without apprehension.

We emerged suddenly from this wilderness, and saw a richly cultivated valley before us. Flocks of sheep and goats were browsing on the hill sides, and herds of cattle wandered in the meadows below. These were the first domestic animals we had seen in the Chaldæan country, and they showed that hitherto Tkhoma had escaped the hand of the spoiler. Two villages occupied opposite sides of the valley; on the right, Ghissa, on the left, Birijai. We rode to the latter. The houses are built in a cluster, and not scattered amongst the gardens, as in Tiyari. We were surrounded by the inhabitants as soon as we entered the streets, and they vied with one another in expressions of welcome and offers of hospitality. Kasha Hormuzd, the principal priest, prevailed upon me to

* By the Kurds they are called Pinianshi..

accompany him to a house he had provided, and on the roof of which carpets were speedily spread. The people were in great agitation at the report of Beder Khan Bey's projected march upon Tkhoma. They immediately flocked round us, seeking for news. The men were better dressed than any Nestorian Chaldæans I had yet seen. The felt cap was replaced by turbans of red and black linen, and these two favourite colours of the Kurds were conspicuous in their ample trowsers, and embroidered jackets. As they carried pistols and daggers in their girdles, and long guns in their hands, they could scarcely be distinguished from the Mussulman inhabitants of the mountains. The women wore small embroidered scull-caps, from beneath which their hair fell loose or in plaits. Their shirts were richly embroidered, and round their necks and bosoms were hung coins and beads. They were happy in having escaped so long the fanaticism and rapacity of the Kurds. But they foresaw their fate. All was bustle and anxiety; the women were burying their ornaments and domestic utensils in secure places; the men preparing their arms, or making gunpowder. I walked to the church, where the priests were collecting their books, and the holy vessels to be hid in the monasteries. Amongst the manuscripts I saw many ancient rituals, forms of prayer, and versions of the Scripture; the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles on vellum, the first and last leaves wanting, and without date, but evidently of a very early period; and a fine copy of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles also on vellum, entire, with numerous illuminations,

written in the year of the Seleucidæ 1552 *, in the time of "Mar Audishio, Patriarch of the East, and of the Chaldæans."

I was much touched by the unaffected hospitality and simple manners of the two priests, Kashas Hormuzd, and Khoshaba, who entertained me; a third was absent. Their dress, torn and soiled, showed that they were poorer than their congregation. They had just returned from the vineyards, where they had been toiling during the day; yet they were treated with reverence and respect; the upper places were given to them, they were consulted on all occasions, and no one drew nigh without kissing the hand, scarred by the plough and the implements of the field.

Almost every house furnished something towards our evening repast; and a long train of girls and young men brought us in messes of meat, fowls, boiled rice, garas and fruit. The priests and the principal inhabitants feasted with us, and there remained enough for my servants, and for the poor who were collected on the roof of a neighbouring house. After our meal many of the women came to me, and joined with the men in debating on their critical position, and in forming schemes for the security of their families, and the defence of their village. It was past midnight before the assembly separated.

* The era of the Seleucidæ (the Greek or Alexandrian year, or the era of contracts, as it is sometimes called,) was once in general use amongst both the Christians, Jews, and Mussulmans of the East, and is to this day always employed by the Chaldæans. It commences in October B. C. 312; according to the Chaldæans one year later.

The following day being Sunday, we were roused at dawn to attend the service of the church. The two priests officiated in white surplices. The ceremonies were short and simple; a portion of Scripture was read, and then interpreted by Kasha Hormuzd in the dialect in use in the mountains — few understanding the Chaldæan of the books. His companion chanted the prayers — the congregation kneeling or standing, and joining in the responses. There were no idle forms or salutations; the people used the sign of the cross when entering, and bowed when the name of Christ occurred in the prayers. The Sacrament was administered to all present — men, women, and children partaking of the bread and wine, and my companion receiving it amongst the rest. They were inclined to feel hurt at my declining to join them, until I explained that I did not refuse from any religious prejudice. When the service was ended the congregation embraced one another, as a symbol of brotherly love and concord*, and left the church. I could not but contrast these simple and primitive rites with the senseless mummery, and degrading forms, adopted by the converted Chaldæans of the plains — the unadorned and imageless walls, with the hideous pictures, and monstrous deformities which encumber the churches of Mosul.

The vestibule of the church was occupied by a misshapen and decrepit nun. Her bed was a mat in

* This custom, it will be remembered, prevailed generally amongst the primitive Christians. The Roman Catholic church has retained the remembrance of it in the "Pax."

the corner of the building, and she was cooking her garas on a small fire near the door. She inquired, with many tears, after Mar Shamoun, and hung round the neck of my companion when she learnt that he had been living with him. Vows of chastity are very rarely taken amongst the Nestorian Chaldæans; and this woman, whose deformity might have precluded the hope of marriage, was the sole instance we met with in the mountains. Convents for either sex are unknown.

Birijai contained, at the time of my visit, nearly one hundred houses, and Ghissa forty. The inhabitants were comparatively rich, possessing numerous flocks, and cultivating a large extent of land. There were priests, schools, and churches in both villages.

One of the Meleks of the tribe came early from Tkhoma Gowaia*, the principal village in the district, to welcome me to his mountains, and to conduct me to his house. He explained that as it was Sunday the Chaldæans did not travel, and consequently the other Meleks, and the principal inhabitants had not been able to meet me. We took leave of the good people of Birijai, who had treated us with great hospitality, and followed Melek Putros up the valley.

To our left was the small Kurdish hamlet of Hayshat, high up in a sheltered ravine. An uninterrupted line of gardens brought us to the church of Tkhoma Gowaia, standing in the midst of scattered houses, this village being built like those of Tiyari. Here we found almost the whole tribe assembled, and

* i. e. middle or centre Tkhoma.

in deep consultation on the state of affairs. We sat in a loft above the church during the greater part of the day, engaged in discussion on the course to be pursued to avoid the present difficulties, and to defend the valley against the expected attack of Beder Khan Bey. The men, who were all well armed, declared that they were ready to die in the defence of their villages; and that, unless they were overcome by numbers, they would hold the passes against the forces of the Kurdish chief. The Kurds, who inhabited two or three hamlets in Tkhoma, had also assembled. They expressed sympathy for the Christians, and offered to arm in their behalf. After much debate it was resolved to send at once a deputation to the Pasha of Mosul, to beseech his protection and assistance. Two priests, two persons from the families of the Meleks, and two of the principal inhabitants, were chosen; and a letter was written by Kasha Bodaca, one of the most learned and respectable priests in the Mountains. It was a touching appeal, setting forth that they were faithful subjects of the Sultan, had been guilty of no offence, and were ready to pay any money, or submit to any terms that the Pasha might think fit to exact. The letter, after having been approved by all present, and sealed with the seals of the chiefs, was delivered to the six deputies, who started at once on foot for Mosul. At the same time no precaution was to be omitted to place the valley in a state of defence, and to prepare for the approach of the Kurds.

There were in Tkhoma three Meleks, each chosen

from a different family by the tribe. The principal was Melek Putros, — a stout, jovial fellow, gaily dressed, and well armed. His colleagues were of a more sober and more warlike appearance. There were no signs of poverty among the people; most of the men had serviceable weapons, and the women wore gold and silver ornaments. All the young men carried cross-bows; in the use of which they were very skilful, killing the small birds as they rested on the trees. A well-armed and formidable body of men might have been collected from the villages; which, properly directed, could, I have little doubt, have effectually resisted the invasion of Beder Khan Bey.

There are five Chaldæan villages in the district of Tkhoma, Ghissa, Birijai, Tkhoma Gowaia, Muzra, and Gunduktha; and four Kurdish, Apenshai, Hayshat, Zaweetha, and Guzeresh. The largest is Tkhoma Gowaia, containing 160 houses, and the residence of the Meleks. By the Kurds, Tkhoma is corrupted into Tkhobi; and the greater part of the Chaldæan names undergo similar changes.

We passed the night on the roof of the church, and rose early to continue our journey to Baz. The valley and pass, separating Tkhoma from this district, being at this time of the year uninhabited, is considered insecure, and we were accompanied by a party of armed men, furnished by the Meleks. The chiefs themselves walked with us to the village of Mezrai, whose gardens adjoin those of Tkhoma Gowaia. The whole valley, indeed, up to the rocky barrier, closing it towards the east, is an uninterrupted line

of cultivation. Above the level of the artificial watercourses, derived from the torrent near its source, and irrigating all the lands of the district, are forests of oaks, clothing the mountains to within a short distance of their summits. Galls are not so plentiful here as in Tiyari; they form, however, an article of commerce with Persia, where they find a better market than in Mosul. Rice and flax are very generally cultivated, and fruit-trees abound.

We stopped for a few minutes at Gunduktha, the last village in Tkhoma, to see Kasha Bodaka, whom we found preparing, at the request of his congregation, to join the deputation to the Pasha of Mosul. We took leave of him, and he started on his journey. He was an amiable, and, for the mountains, a learned man, much esteemed by the Chaldæan tribes. Being one of the most skilful penmen of the day, his manuscripts were much sought after for the churches. He was mild and simple in his manners; and his appearance was marked by that gentleness, and unassuming dignity, which I had found in more than one of the Nestorian Chaldæan priests.*

The torrent enters the valley of Tkhoma by a very narrow gorge, through which a road, partly constructed of rough stones piled up in the bed of the stream, is with difficulty carried. In the winter, when the rain has swollen the waters, this entrance must be impracticable; and even at this time, we could scarcely drag our mules and horses over the rocks, and through the deep pools in which the tor-

* Mr. Ainsworth, writing of Kasha Kana of Lizan, observes that he resembled in his manners and appearance an English clergyman.

rent abounds. All signs of cultivation now ceased. Mountains rose on all sides, barren and treeless. Huge rocks hung over the road, or towered above us. On their pinnacles, or in their crevices, a few goats sought a scanty herbage. The savage nature of the place was heightened by its solitude.

Soon after entering the ravine, we met a shepherd-boy, dragging after him a sheep killed by the bears; and a little beyond we found the reeking carcase of a bullock, which had also fallen a victim to these formidable animals, of whose depredations we heard continual complaints. I observed on the mountain-sides several flocks of ibex, and some of our party endeavoured to get within gun-shot; but after sun-rise their watchfulness cannot be deceived, and they bounded off to the highest peaks, long before the most wary of our marksmen could approach them.

We were steadily making our way over the loose stones and slippery rocks, when a party of horsemen were seen coming towards us. They were Kurds, and I ordered my party to keep close together, that we might be ready to meet them in case of necessity. As they were picking their way over the rough ground like ourselves, to the evident risk of their horses' necks as well as of their own, I had time to examine them fully as they drew near. In front, on a small, lean, and jaded horse, rode a tall gaunt figure, dressed in all the tawdry garments sanctioned by Kurdish taste. A turban of wonderful capacity, and almost taking within its dimensions horse and rider, buried his head, which seemed to escape by a miracle being driven in between his

shoulders by the enormous pressure. From the centre of this mass of many coloured rags rose a high conical cap of white felt. This load appeared to give an unsteady rolling gait to the thin carcase below, which could with difficulty support it. A most capacious pair of claret-coloured trowsers bulged out from the sides of the horse, and well nigh stretched from side to side of the ravine. Every shade of red and yellow was displayed in his embroidered jacket and cloak; and in his girdle were weapons of extraordinary size, and most fanciful workmanship. His eyes were dark and piercing, and overshadowed by shaggy eyebrows; his nose aquiline, his cheeks hollow, his face long, and his beard black and bushy. Notwithstanding the ferocity of his countenance, and its unmistakeable expression of villany, it would have been difficult to repress a smile at the absurdity of the figure, and the disparity between it and the miserable animal concealed beneath. This was a Kurdish dignitary of the first rank; a man well-known for deeds of oppression and blood; the Mutesellim, or Lieutenant-Governor under Nur-Ullah Bey, the chief of Hakkiari. He was followed by a small body of well-armed men, resembling their master in the motley character of their dress; which, however, was somewhat reduced in the proportions, as became an inferiority of rank. The cavalcade was brought up by an individual differing considerably from those who had preceded. His smooth and shining chin, and the rich glow of raki* upon his cheeks, were

* Ardent spirits, extracted from raisins or dates.

undoubted evidences of Christianity. He had the accumulated obesity of all his companions; and rode, as became him, upon a diminutive donkey, which he urged over the loose stones with the point of a clasp-knife. His dress did not differ much from that of the Kurds, except that, instead of warlike weapons, he carried an ink-horn in his girdle. This was Bircham, the "goulama d'Mira,"* as he was commonly called,—a half renegade Christian, who was the steward, banker, and secretary of the Hakkiari chief.

I saluted the Mutesellim, as we elbowed each other in the narrow pass; but he did not seem inclined to return my salutation, otherwise than by a curl of the lip, and an indistinct grunt, which he left me to interpret in any way I thought proper. It was no use quarrelling with him, so I passed on. We had not proceeded far, when one of his horsemen returned to us, and called away Yakoub Rais, Ionunco, and one of the men of Tkhoma. Looking back, I observed them all in deep consultation with the Kurdish chief, who had dismounted to wait for them. I rode on, and it was nearly an hour before the three Chaldæans rejoined us. Ionunco's eyes were starting out of his head with fright, and the expression of his face was one of amusing horror. Even Yakoub's usual grin had given way to a look of alarm. The man of Tkhoma was less disturbed. Yakoub began by entreating me to return at once to Tkhoma and Tiyari. The Mutesellim, he said, had used violent threats; declaring that as Nur-Ullah Bey had served one infidel

* The servant of the Mir or Prince.

who had come to spy out the country, and teach the Turks its mines, alluding to Schultz*, so he would serve me; and had sent off a man to the Hakkiari chief to apprise him of my presence in the mountains. "We must turn back at once," exclaimed Yakoub, seizing the bridle of my horse, "or, Wallah! that Kurdish dog will murder us all." I had formed a different plan; and, calming the fears of my party as well as I was able, I continued my journey toward Baz. Ionunco, however, raked his brain for every murder that had been attributed to Nur-Ullah Bey; and at each new tale of horror Yakoub turned his mule, and vowed he would go back to Asheetha.

We rode for nearly four hours through this wild, solitary valley. My people were almost afraid to speak, and huddled together as if the Kurds were coming down upon us. Two or three of the armed men scaled the rocks, or ran on before us as scouts; but the solitude was only broken by an eagle soaring above our heads, or by a wild goat which occasionally dashed across our path. In the spring, and early summer, these now desolate tracts are covered with the tents of the people of Tkhoma, and of the Kurds, who find on the slopes a rich pasture for their flocks.

It was mid-day before we reached the foot of the mountain dividing us from the district of Baz. The pass we had to cross is one of the highest in the

* It will be remembered that this traveller was murdered by Nur-Ullah Bey.

Chaldæan country, and at this season there was snow upon it. The ascent was long, steep, and toilsome. We were compelled to walk, and even without our weight, the mules could scarcely climb the acclivity. But we were well rewarded for our labour when we gained the summit. A scene of extraordinary grandeur opened upon us. At our feet stretched the valley of Baz,—its villages and gardens but specks in the distance. Beyond the valley, and on all sides of us, was a sea of mountains—peaks of every form and height, some snow-capped, others bleak and naked; the furthermost rising in the distant regions of Persia. I counted nine distinct mountain ranges. Two vast rocks formed a kind of gateway on the crest of the pass, and I sat between them for some minutes, gazing upon the sublime prospect before us.

The descent was rapid and dangerous, and so precipitous that a stone might almost have been dropped on the church of Ergub, first visible like a white spot beneath us. We passed a rock, called the "Rock of Butter," from a custom, perhaps of pagan origin, existing amongst the Chaldæan shepherds, of placing upon it, as an offering, a piece of the first butter made in the early spring. As we approached the village, we found several of the inhabitants labouring in the fields. They left their work, and followed us. The church stands at some distance from the houses; and when we reached it, the villagers compelled all my servants to dismount, including Ibrahim Agha, who muttered a curse upon the infidels as he took his foot out of the stirrup. The Christians raised their

turbans,—a mark of reverence always shown on these occasions.

The houses of Ergub are built in a group. We stopped in a small open space in the centre of them, and I ordered my carpet to be spread near a fountain, shaded by a cluster of trees. We were soon surrounded by the inhabitants of the village. The Melek and the priest seated themselves with me; the rest stood round in a circle. The men were well dressed and armed; and, like those of Tkhoma, they could scarcely be distinguished from the Kurds. Many of the women were pretty enough to be entitled to the front places they had taken in the crowd. They wore silver ornaments and beads on their foreheads, and were dressed in jackets and trowsers of gay colours.

After the letter of the Patriarch had been read, and the inquiries after him fully satisfied, the conversation turned upon the expected expedition of Beder Khan Bey against Tkhoma, and the movements of Nur-Ullah Bey, events causing great anxiety to the people of Baz. Although this district had been long under the chief of Hakkiari, paying an annual tribute to him, and having been even subjected to many vexatious exactions, and to acts of oppression and violence, yet it had never been disarmed, nor exposed to a massacre such as had taken place in Tiyari. There was, however, cause to fear that the fanatical fury of Beder Khan Bey might be turned upon them, as well as upon Tkhoma; and their only hope was the friendly interference of Nur-Ullah Bey, whose subjects they

now professed themselves to be. They had begun to conceal their church-books and property, in anticipation of a disaster.

Both the Melek and the priest pressed me to accept their hospitality. I preferred the house of the latter, to which we moved in the afternoon. My host was suffering much from the ague, and was moreover old and infirm. I gave him a few medicines to stop his fever, for which he was very grateful. He accompanied me to the church; but the bare walls alone were standing; the books and furniture had been partly carried away by the Kurds, and partly removed for security by the people of the village.

After the events of the morning I had made up my mind to proceed at once to Nur-Ullah Bey, whose residence was only a short day's journey distant; but on communicating my intention to Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, he became so alarmed, and so resolutely declared that he would return alone rather than trust himself in the hands of the Mir of Hakkiari, that I was forced to give up my plan. In the present state of the mountains there were only two courses open to me; either to visit the chief, who would probably, after learning the object of my journey, receive and assist me as he had done Dr. Grant; or to retrace my steps without delay. I decided upon the latter with regret, as I was thus unable to visit Jelu and Diz, the two remaining districts of the Nestorian Chaldæans. I did not, however, communicate my plans to any one; but learning that there were two of Nur-Ullah Bey's attendants in the village, I sent for

them, and induced them, by a small present, to take a note to their master. I instructed them to report that it was my intention to visit him on the following day, and sent a Christian to see that they took the road to Julamerik. The treachery and daring of Nur-Ullah Bey were so well known, that I thought it most prudent to deceive him, in case he might wish to waylay me on my return to Tkhoma. I started therefore before day-break without any one in the village being aware of my departure, and took the road by which we had reached Baz the day before.

The district of Baz contains five large villages; Ergub, Makhtayah, Shoaoutha, Orwantiz, and Besanna, which follow in this order down the valley. It is well cultivated and well watered, producing tobacco, flax, rice, and grain of various kinds.

We crossed the pass as quickly as we were able, hurried through the long barren valley, and reached Gunduktha, without meeting any one during our journey; to the no small comfort of my companions, who could not conceal their alarm during the whole of our morning's ride.

We stopped to breakfast at Gunduktha, and saw the Meleks at Tkhoma Gowaia. The people of this village had felt much anxiety on our account, as the Mutesellim had passed the night there, and had used violent threats against us. I learnt that he was going to Chal to settle some differences which had arisen between the Kurds of that district and of Hakkiari, and that Bircham had been sent to Tkhoma by Nur-Ullah Bey to withdraw his family and friends;

"for, this time," said the chief, "Beder Khan Bey intends to finish with the Christians, and will not make slaves for consuls and Turks to liberate."

As I was desirous of leaving Tkhoma as soon as possible, I refused the proffered hospitality of Melek Putros, and rode on to Birijai.

Being unwilling to return to Asheetha by Raola and the villages I had already visited, I determined — notwithstanding the account given by the people of Tkhoma of the great difficulty of the passes between us and the Zab — to cross the mountain of Khouara, which rises at the back of Birijai. I found that their descriptions had not been exaggerated. We were two hours dragging ourselves over the loose stones, and along the narrow ledges, and reached the summit weary and breathless. From the crest we overlooked the whole valley of Tkhoma, with its smiling villages, bounded to the east by the lofty range of Kareetha; to the west I recognised the peaks of Asheetha, the valley of the Zab, Chal, and the heights inhabited by the Apenshai Kurds.

The mountain of Khouara is the Zoma — or summer pasture-grounds — of the inhabitants of Ghissa and Birijai. As we ascended we passed many rude sheds and caverns, half-blocked up at the entrance with loose stones, — places in which the flocks are kept during the night, to preserve them from wild animals. There is a fountain at a short distance from the top of the pass, and a few trees near it; but the mountain is otherwise naked, and, at this time of the year, without verdure.

My companions amused themselves by rolling large stones down the declivity, and watching them as they bounded over the rocks, till they disappeared in the ravines beneath; setting in motion an avalanche of rubbish, which swept down the sides of the mountain, and threatened to overwhelm the stragglers, who still toiled up the ascent, or a solitary shepherd keeping his flock in the valley.

An hour's rapid descent brought us to the Tiyari village of Be-Alatha, — a heap of ruins on the opposite sides of a valley. The few surviving inhabitants were in extreme poverty, and the small-pox was raging amongst them. The water-courses destroyed by the Kurds had not been repaired, and the fields were mostly uncultivated. Even the church had not yet been rebuilt; and as the trees which had been cut down were still lying across the road, and the charred timber still encumbered the gardens, the place had a most desolate appearance. We were hospitably received by a Shâmasha, or deacon; whose children, suffering from the prevailing disease, and covered with discoloured blains, crowded into the only small room of the wretched cottage. Women and children, disfigured by the malignant fever, came to me for medicines; but it was beyond my power to relieve them. Our host, as well as the rest of the inhabitants, was in extreme poverty. Even a little garas, and rancid butter, could with difficulty be collected by contribution from all the houses, and I was at a loss to discover how the people of Be-Alatha live. Yet the deacon was cheerful and contented, dwelling with

resignation upon the misfortunes that had befallen his village, and the misery of his family.

On leaving the village, now containing only ten families, I was accosted by an old priest, who had been waiting until we passed, and who entreated me to eat bread under his roof. As his cottage was distant I was compelled to decline his hospitality, though much touched by his simple kindness, and mild and gentle manners. Finding that I would not go with him, he insisted upon accompanying us to the next village, and took with him three or four sturdy mountaineers, to assist us on our journey; for the roads, he said, were nearly impassable.

Without the assistance of the good priest our attempt to reach Marth d' Kasra would certainly have been hopeless. More than once we turned back in despair, before the slippery rocks and precipitous ascents. Ibrahim Agha, embarrassed by his capacious boots, which, made after the fashion of the Turks, could have contained the extremities of a whole family, was more beset with difficulties than all the party. When he attempted to ride a mule, unused to a pack-saddle, he invariably slid over the tail of the animal, and lay sprawling on the ground, to the great amusement of Yakoub Rais, with whom his adventures were a never failing source of anecdote in the village assemblies. If he walked, either his boots became wedged into the crevices of the rocks, or filled with gravel, to his no small discomfort. At length, in attempting to cross a bed of loose stones, he lost all presence of mind, and remained

fixed in the middle, fearful to advance or retreat. The rubbish yielded to his grasp, and he looked down into a black abyss, towards which he found himself gradually sinking with the avalanche he had put in motion. There was certainly enough to frighten any Turk, and Ibrahim Agha clung to the face of the declivity — the picture of despair. "What's the Kurd doing?" cried a Tiyari, with whom all Mussulmans were Kurds, and who was waiting to pass on; "Is there anything here to turn a man's face pale? This is dashta, dashta" (a plain, a plain). Ibrahim Agha, who guessed from the words Kurd and dashta, the meaning of which he had learnt, the purport of the Christian's address, almost forgot his danger in his rage and indignation. "Gehannem with your dashta!" cried he, still clinging to the moving stones, "and dishonour upon your wife and mother. Oh! that I could only get one way or the other to show this Infidel what it is to laugh at the beard of an Osmanli, and to call him a Kurd in the bargain!" With the assistance of the mountaineers he was at length rescued from his perilous position, but not restored to good humour. By main force the mules were dragged over this and similar places; the Tiyari seizing them by the halter and tail, and throwing them on their sides.

We were two hours struggling through these difficulties before reaching Marth d' Kasra, formerly a large village, but now containing only forty houses.*

* The village contains two churches and two priests.

Its appearance, however, was more flourishing than that of Be-Alatha; and the vineyards, and gardens surrounding it, had been carefully trimmed and irrigated. Above Marth d' Kasra, on a lofty overhanging rock, is the village of Lagippa, reduced to ten houses. It is not accessible to beasts of burden. I rode to the house of a priest, and sat there whilst the mules were resting.

As we were engaged in conversation, Ibrahim Agha, who had not yet recovered his composure, entered the room labouring under symptoms of great indignation. The cause of his anger were some women who had commenced their ablutions, in the manner I have already described, near the spot where he had been sitting. "When I told them to go to a greater distance," said he, "they replied, that if I did not wish to see them, I might turn my head the other way. If these infidels have no modesty," continued he, "let them at least know that we Mussulmans have. Mohammed Pasha, upon whom God has had mercy! declared of the Arabs, that the men were without religion, the women without drawers, and the horses without bridles; but these unbelievers eat more dirt than all the Arabs, and are verily little better than the beasts of the field." Having calmed the wrath of the Cawass, I reasoned with the priest on the impropriety of this habit; but he did not appear at all sensible of it, only observing that the custom was general in the mountains.

The road between Marth d' Kasra and Chonba was no less difficult and dangerous than that we had

taken in the morning. The gardens of the former village extend to the Zab, and we might have followed the valley; but the men who were with us preferred the shorter road over the mountain, that we might reach Chonba before night-fall. On approaching the Zab, I observed a most singular mass of conglomerate, the deposits of the river, but raised about 500 feet above its bed by a substratum of schists; and apparently upheaved from its original site by a comparatively recent convulsion of nature.

The villages in the valley of the Zab had suffered more from the Kurds than any other part of Tiyari. Chonba was almost deserted; its houses and churches a mass of ruins, and its gardens and orchards uncultivated and neglected. There was no roof, under which we could pass the night; and we were obliged to spread our carpets under a cluster of walnut trees, near a clear and most abundant spring. Under these trees was pitched the tent of Beder Khan Bey, after the great massacre; and here he received Melek Ismail, when delivered a prisoner into his hands. Yakoub, who had been present at the murder of the unfortunate chief of Tiyari, thus described the event. After performing prodigies of valour, and heading his people in their defence of the pass which led into the upper districts, Melek Ismail, his thigh broken by a musket-ball, was carried by a few followers to a cavern in a secluded ravine; where he might have escaped the search of his enemies, had not a woman, to save her life, betrayed his retreat. He was dragged down

the mountain with savage exultation, and brought before Beder Khan Bey. Here he fell upon the ground. "Wherefore does the infidel sit before me?" exclaimed the ferocious chief, who had seen his broken limb, "and what dog is this that has dared to shed the blood of true believers?" "O Mir," replied Melek Ismail, still undaunted, and partly raising himself, "this arm has taken the lives of nearly twenty Kurds; and, had God spared me, as many more would have fallen by it." Beder Khan Bey rose and walked to the Zab, making a sign to his attendants that they should bring the Melek to him. By his directions they held the Christian chief over the river, and, severing his head from his body with a dagger, cast them into the stream.

All the family of the Melek had distinguished themselves, at the time of the invasion, by their courage. His sister, standing by his side, slew four men before she fell mortally wounded.

Over the spring, where we had alighted, formerly grew a cluster of gigantic walnut trees, celebrated in Tiyari for their size and beauty. They had been cut down by the Kurds, and their massive trunks were still stretched on the ground. A few smaller trees had been left standing, and afforded us shelter. The water, gushing from the foot of an overhanging rock, was pure and refreshing; but the conduits, which had once carried it into the fields, having been destroyed, a small marsh had been formed around the spring. The place consequently abounded in musquitoes, and

we were compelled to keep up large fires to escape their attacks.

On the following morning we ascended the valley of the Zab, for about three miles, to cross over the river. The road led into upper Tiyari, its villages being visible from the valley, perched on the summits of isolated rocks, or half concealed in sheltered ravines. The scenery is sublime. The river forces itself through a deep and narrow gorge, the mountains rising one above the other in wild confusion, naked and barren; except where the mountaineers have collected the scanty soil, and surrounded their cottages with gardens and vineyards.

The bridge of wicker work was in better repair than that of Lizan, and we crossed our mules without difficulty. Descending along the banks of the Zab for a short distance, we struck into the mountains; and passing through Kona Zavvi and Bitti, two Kurdish villages buried in orchards, reached Serspeetho about mid-day. We sat for two hours in the house of the priest, who received us very hospitably. Out of eighty families thirty have alone survived; the rest were utterly destroyed. The two churches were still in ruins, and but a few cottages had as yet been rebuilt.

In the afternoon we resumed our journey, and crossing a high and barren mountain descended into the valley of Asheetha.

I spent a day in the village, to give rest to our mules; for they stood in great need of it, after crossing the mountains of Tiyari. As I was desirous of visiting some copper mines, described to me by the people of

the district, I engaged Kasha Hormuzd, and one Daoud, who had been a workman at Nimroud, to accompany me. We left Asheetha, followed by Yakoub, and the priests and principal inhabitants, who took leave of us at some distance from the village. We chose a different road from that we had followed on entering the mountain, and thus avoided a most precipitous ascent. Descending into the valley, leading from Berwari to Asheetha, we came upon a large party of travellers, whom we at first took for Kurds. As they discharged their guns, and stopped in the middle of a thicket of rushes growing in the bed of the torrent, we approached them. They proved to be Nestorian Chaldæans returning from Mosul to the mountains. Amongst them, to my surprise, I found Kasha Oraho.* This very amiable, learned, and worthy priest, had fled from Asheetha at the time of the massacre; and from his erudition, and intimate knowledge of the political condition of the tribes, and of the tenets and ceremonies of the Chaldæan church, had acted as the secretary of Mar Shamoun during his exile. Nearly three years had elapsed since he had quitted his mountains, and he pined for his native air. Against the advice of his friends he had determined to leave the plains, and he was now on his return, with his wife and son, to Tiyari. I sat with him for a few minutes, and we parted never to meet again. A few days after our meeting Beder Khan Bey and his hordes descended into

* A corruption of Auraham, Abraham.

Asheetha. Fresh deeds of violence recalled the scenes of bloodshed to which the poor priest had formerly been a witness; and he died of grief, bewailing the miserable condition of the Christian tribes.

We no longer followed the same valley we had ascended on our approach to Tiyari; but entered the mountains to the right, and, after a rapid ascent, found ourselves in a forest of oaks. Our guides were some time in finding the mouth of the mine, which was only known to a few of the mountaineers. At a distance from the entrance, copper ores were scattered in abundance amongst the loose stones. I descended with some difficulty, and found many passages running in various directions, all more or less blocked up with rubbish and earth, much of which we had to remove before I could explore the interior of the mine. The copper runs in veins of bright blue; either in small crystals, compact masses, or in powder, which I could scrape out of the cracks of the rocks with a knife. I recognised at once in the latter the material used to colour the bricks and ornaments in the Assyrian Palaces. After following several ramifications, as far as the accumulated rubbish would permit, I returned into the open air. The mine had evidently been opened, and worked at a very remote period; and its entrance was so well concealed by rocks and stones, that it was difficult to account for its discovery. In the Tiyari mountains, particularly in the heights above Lizan, and in the valley of Berwari, mines of iron, lead, copper, and other minerals abound. Both the Kurds and the

Chaldæans make their own weapons and implements of agriculture; and cast bullets for their rifles, collecting the ores which are scattered on the declivities, or brought down by the torrents.

Leaving the district of Holamoun and Geramoun* to our right, we entered a deep valley, and rode for five hours through a thick forest of oak, beech, and other mountain trees. We passed a few encampments of Kurds, who had chosen some lawn in a secluded dell to pitch their black tents; but we saw no villages until we reached Challek. By the road-side, as we descended to this place, I observed an extensive ruin, of substantial masonry of square stones. I was unable to learn that any tradition attached to the remains; nor could I ascertain their name, or conjecture the nature and use of the building. It was evidently a very ancient work, and may have been an Assyrian fort to command the entrance into the mountains. The pass is called Kesta, from a Kurdish village of that name.

Challek is a large village, inhabited partly by Chaldæans and partly by Kurds. There are about fifteen families of Christians, who have a church and a priest. The gardens are very extensive, and well irrigated, and the houses are almost concealed in a forest of fruit-trees. We passed the night in the

* Two large villages so called, inhabited by Nestorian Chaldæans; but forming a separate district, and paying tribute directly to the Pasha of Mosul. They were formerly very flourishing; but having recently been much harassed by Beder Khan Bey, the inhabitants have mostly fled to the higher mountains. The district produces very fine galls.

residence of the Kiayah, and were hospitably entertained.

In the morning we rode for some time along the banks of the Khabour, and about five hours and a half from Challek forded the Supna, one of its confluents. The valley of Berwari is here broken up into numberless ravines, and is thickly wooded with the gall-bearing oak. The mountain-range separating us, at this point, from the valley of Amadiyah, is considerably lower than where we had previously crossed it. Scattered over the hills are numerous Kurdish villages, and the turreted castle of a chief may occasionally be seen, in the distance, crowning the summit of some isolated rock. Kalah Gumri, the residence of Abd-ul-Summit Bey, is visible from all parts of Berwari.

We stopped at the Kurdish village of Ourmeli during the middle of the day, and found there a Su-bashi — a kind of superintendent tax-gatherer — from Mosul, who received me in a manner worthy the dignity of both. He was dressed in an extraordinary assortment of Osmanlu and Kurdish garments, the greater part of which had been, of course, robbed from the inhabitants of the district placed under his care. He treated me with sumptuous hospitality, at the expense of the Kurds, to whom he proclaimed me a particular friend of the Vizir, and a person of very exalted worth. He brought, himself, the first dish of pillau, which was followed by soups, chicken-kibaubs, honey, yaghourt, cream, fruit, and a variety of Kurdish luxuries. He refused to be seated, and waited upon me during the repast. It was evident that all

this respectful attention, on the part of so great a personage, was not intended to be thrown away; and when he retired I collected a few of the Kurds, and, obtaining their confidence by paying for my breakfast, soon learnt from them that my host had dealt so hardly with the villages in his jurisdiction, that the inhabitants, driven to despair, had sent a deputation to lay their grievances before the Pasha. This might explain the fashion of my reception, which I could scarcely attribute to my own merits. As I anticipated, he came to me before I left, and commenced a discourse on the character of Kurds in general, and on the way of governing them. "Wallah, Billah, O Bey!" said he, "these Kurds are no Mussulmans; they are worse than unbelievers; they are nothing but thieves and murderers; they will cut a man's throat for a para. You will know what to tell His Highness when he asks you about them. They are beasts that must be driven by the bit and the spur; give them too much barley," continuing the simile, "and they will get fat, and vicious, and dangerous. No, no, you must take away the barley, and leave them only the straw." "You have, no doubt," I observed, eyeing his many-coloured Kurdish cloak, "taken care that as little be left them to fatten upon as possible." "I am the lowest of His Highness's servants," he replied, scarcely suppressing a broad grin; "but, nevertheless, God knows that I am not the least zealous in his service." It was at any rate satisfactory to find that, in the Su-bashi's system of government, Kurds and Christians were placed on an

equal footing, and that the Mussulmans themselves now tasted of the miseries they had so long inflicted with impunity upon others.

We soon crossed the valley of Amadiyah, and meeting the high road between Daoudeeya * and Mosul, entered some low hills thickly set with Kurdish villages. In Kuremi, through which we passed, there dwells a very holy Sheikh, who enjoys a great reputation for sanctity and miracles throughout Kurdistan. He was seated in the Iwan, or open chamber, of a very neat house; built, kept in repair, and continually white-washed by the inhabitants of the place. A beard, white as snow, fell almost to his waist; and he wore a turban and a long gown of spotless white linen. He is almost blind, and sat rocking himself to and fro, fingering his rosary. He keeps a perpetual Ramazan, never eating between dawn and sunset. On a slab, near him, was a row of water-jugs of every form, ready for use when the sun went down. Ibraham Agha, who was not more friendly to the Kurds than the Su-bashi, treated the Sheikh to a most undignified epithet as he passed; which, had it been overheard by the people of the village, might have led to hostilities. Although I might not have expressed myself so forcibly as the Cawass, I could not but concur generally in his opinion when reflecting that this man, and some others of the same class, had been the chief cause of the massacres of the unfortunate Christians; and that, at that moment,

* The principal place of a district of the same name, which has a governor appointed from, and accounting directly with, Mosul.

his son, Shiekh Tahar*, was urging Beder Khan Bey to prove his religious zeal by shedding anew the blood of the Chaldæans.

We stopped for the night in the large Catholic Chaldæan village of Mungayshi, containing above forty Christian houses, a new church, and two priests. The inhabitants carry on a considerable trade with Mosul in raisins, and their vineyards are extensive and well cultivated. They complained bitterly of the governor of Daoudeeya, who had plundered them, they said, of every thing; and they also had sent a deputation to the Pasha.

A pass, over a richly wooded range of hills, leads from Mungayshi into a fertile plain, watered by several streams, and occupied by many Kurdish villages. Beyond, the mountains are naked and most barren. We wandered for some hours amongst pinnacles, through narrow ravines, and over broken rocks of sandstone, all scattered about in the wildest confusion. Not a blade of vegetation was to be seen; the ground was parched by the sun, and was here and there blackened by volcanic action. We came to several large pools of hot, sulphurous springs, bubbling up in many parts of the valley. In the spring, both the Kurds and the people of the surrounding villages congregate near these reservoirs, and pitch their tents for nearly a month; whilst they

* This fanatic, who was one of Beder Khan Bey's principal advisers, when entering Mosul, was accustomed to throw a veil over his face that his sight might not be polluted by Christians, and other impurities in the place. He exercises an immense influence over the Kurdish population, who look upon him as a saint and worker of miracles.

bathe continually in the waters, which have a great reputation for their medicinal qualities.

A long defile brought us to the town of Dohuk, formerly a place of some importance, but now nearly in ruins. It is built on an island formed by a small stream, and probably occupies an ancient site. Its castle, a mud building with turrets, was held for some time, by the hereditary Kurdish chief of the place, against Injeh Bairakdar Mohammed Pasha; but was reduced, and has since been inhabited by a Turkish governor. Ismail Bey, the Mutesellim, received me very civilly, and I breakfasted with him. The son of a Kurdish chief, of some importance in the neighbourhood, was visiting the Bey. He was dressed in a most elaborately embroidered suit, had ponderous jewelled rings in his ears, carried enormous weapons in his girdle, and had stuck in his turban a profusion of marigolds and other flowers. He was a handsome, intelligent boy; but, young as he might be, he was already a precocious pupil of Sheikh Tahar; and when I put him upon a religious topic, he entered most gravely into an argument to prove the obligation imposed upon Mussulmans to exterminate the unbelievers, supporting his theological views by very apt quotations from the Koran.

My horses, which had been sent from Amadiyah, were waiting for me here; and leaving our jaded mules we rode on to the Christian village of Malthayiah, about one hour beyond, and in the same valley as Dohuk. Being anxious to visit the rock-sculptures near this place, I took a peasant with me and rode to the

foot of a neighbouring hill. A short walk up a very difficult ascent brought me to the monuments.

Four tablets have been cut in the rock. On each tablet are nine figures. The sculpture is Assyrian, and evidently of the later period, cotemporary with the kings of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik. The subject represented in the four bas-reliefs is the same, and appears to be an adoration of the gods. Two figures, the first and the last, are those of kings; the remainder those of divinities, standing upon animals. The first god wears the horned cap, square, not rounded at the top, and surmounted by a point, or by a fleur-de-lys; the ornament being so much defaced that I was unable to distinguish clearly which. He holds a ring in one hand, and a thong or snake in the other, and stands on two animals, a bull and a kind of griffin or lion, with the head of an eagle, but without wings. The second divinity is beardless, holds a ring in one hand, and is seated on a chair, the arms and lower parts of which are supported by human figures with tails (somewhat resembling those on the vase discovered at Nimroud *), and by birds with human heads. The whole rests upon two animals, a lion and a bull.

The third divinity resembles the first, and stands on a winged bull. The four following have stars with six rays, resting on the top of the horned cap. The first of them has a ring in one hand, and stands on a griffin without wings; the second also holds the

* See antè, p. 128.

ring, and is raised on a horse, caparisoned after the fashion of the horses represented on the sculptures of Khorsabad; the third wields an object precisely similar to the conventional thunderbolt of the statues and pictures of the Greek Jove, and is supported by a winged lion; and the fourth is beardless, carries a ring, and stands on a lion without wings.

The two kings, who are facing the divinities, have one hand elevated, and bear a mace, or some instrument resembling it, in the other.

All the tablets have suffered much from long exposure to the atmosphere, and one has been almost destroyed by the entrance into a chamber, which probably at one time served for a tomb, cut in the rock behind it. As the sculpture has been sacrificed to this excavation, it would appear to owe its origin to a people differing from those who buried their dead there, and occupying the country at an earlier period. It is possible, however, that the door of the tomb was closed by a slab, upon which the bas-relief was continued, and that the whole was carefully united to conceal the entrance. Similar excavations occur among the rock-sculptures of Bavian, which belong to the same period as those of Malthayiah.

The details in these bas-reliefs are, as far as they can be distinguished, precisely similar to those in the later Assyrian monuments. In the head-dress of the kings, in the form of the chair of the sitting divinity, and in the mode of treatment, the sculptures of Malthayiah closely resemble those of Khorsabad.

I returned to the village after sunset. My Cawass

and servants had established themselves for the night on the roof of the church; and the Kiayah had prepared a very substantial repast. The inhabitants of Malthayiah are Catholic Chaldæans; their conversion not dating many years. The greater part joined us in the evening; and my companion, who was always ready to plunge into a religious controversy, and delighted in the subtle distinctions between the Nestorian and Roman Catholic creeds, engaged them at once on these subjects; and brought about a noisy theological combat, which lasted till past midnight, without any one being convinced of his errors.

Next morning we rode over a dreary plain to Alkosh. In a defile, through the hills behind the village, I observed several rock-tombs,—excavations similar to those of Malthayiah; some having rude ornaments above the entrance, and the door-ways of others being simply square holes in the rock.

On reaching Alkosh I proceeded at once to the house of the Kiayah, but found his apartments occupied by a Su-bashi, a pompous, ill-favoured Turk; who, putting his head out of the window, asked, in a very impertinent way, who I was, whence I came, where I was going, and what I wanted,—questions which were not otherwise answered than by his being speedily dislodged from his corner, and pushed by the shoulders into the street, to his no small surprise, and to the great satisfaction and delight of a crowd of bystanders, who had been all more or less the victims of his extortions. "What dog are you," exclaimed Ibrahim Agha, as he gave him the last push into the

gutter, and made many very offensive and unwarrantable allusions to the female members of his family, "to establish a makiamah* up there, and cross-question people like his Reverence the Cadi? O you offspring of a bad breed! you shall have the Dahiak-parasi†; but it shall be on the soles of your feet."

Alkosh is a very considerable Christian village. The inhabitants, who were formerly pure Chaldæans, have been converted to Roman Catholicism. It contains, according to a very general tradition, the tomb of Nahum, the prophet—the Alkoshite, as he is called in the introduction to his prophecies. It is a place held in great reverence by Mahommedans and Christians, but especially by Jews, who keep the building in repair, and flock here in great numbers at certain seasons of the year. The tomb is a simple plaster box, covered with green cloth, and standing at the upper end of a large chamber. On the walls of the room are slips of paper, upon which are written, in distorted Hebrew characters, religious exhortations, and the dates and particulars of the visits of various Jewish families. The house containing the tomb is a modern building. There are no inscriptions, nor fragments of any antiquity about the place; and I am not aware in what the tradition originated, or how long it has attached to the village of Alkosh.‡

* Court of justice.

† The tax on suits paid to the Cadi.

‡ According to St. Jerome, El Kosh or El Kosha, the birth-place of the prophet, was a village in Galilee, and his tomb was shown at Bethogabra near Emmaus. As his prophecies were written after the captivity

After visiting the tomb I rode to the convent of Rabban Hormuzd, built on the almost perpendicular sides of lofty rocks, enclosing a small recess or basin, out of which there is only one outlet,—a narrow and precipitous ravine, leading abruptly into the plains. The spot is well suited to solitude and devotion. Half buried in barren crags, the building can scarcely be distinguished from the natural pinnacles by which it is surrounded. There is scarcely a blade of vegetation to be seen, except a few olive trees, encouraged, by the tender solicitude of the monks, to struggle with the barren soil. Around the convent, in almost every accessible part of the mountains, are a multitude of caves or chambers in the rock, said to have once served as retreats for a legion of hermits, and from which most probably were ejected the dead, to make room for the living; for they appear to have been, for the most part, at a very remote period, places of burial — a few having been purposely constructed for dwelling places, whilst others may have been enlarged to meet the increased wants of the new tenants. The number of these recesses must at one time have been very great. They are now rapidly disappearing, and have been so doing for centuries.*

of the ten tribes, and apply exclusively to Nineveh, the tradition, which points to the village in Assyria as the place of his death, is not without weight.

* When Mr. Rich visited the convent, in the early part of this century, the number of the caves was daily diminishing. The rock in which they had been cut was rapidly crumbling away, filling up with rubbish many of these recesses, and carrying away others altogether. The monks too had destroyed many, when hewing stone for the repair of the building. (Rich's Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan, &c. vol. ii. p. 94.)

Still the sides of the ravine are in some places honey-combed by them.

The hermits, who may once have inhabited the place, have left no successors. A lonely monk from the convent may occasionally be seen clambering over the rocks; but otherwise the solitude is seldom disturbed by the presence of a human being.

The ascent to the convent, from the entrance of the ravine, is partly up a flight of steps rudely constructed of loose stones, and partly by a narrow pathway cut in the rock. We were, therefore, obliged to dismount, and to leave our horses in a cavern at the foot of the mountain.

Rabban Hormuzd was formerly in the possession of the Nestorian Chaldæans; but has been appropriated by the Catholics since the conversion of the inhabitants of Alkosh, Tel Kef, and other large villages of the plain. It is said to have been founded by one of the early Chaldæan patriarchs, in the latter part of the fourth century. The saint, after whom the convent is called, is much venerated by the Nestorians. He was, according to some traditions, the son of a king of Persia, and a Christian martyr. The convent is an extensive building, partly excavated in the rocks, and partly constructed of stones well cut and fitted together. Since it was plundered by the Kurds, under the Bey of Rowandiz, no attempt has been made to restore the rich ornaments which once decorated the chapel, and principal halls. The walls are now naked and bare, except where hung with a few hideous pictures of saints and holy families, presented or stuck up by the Italian

monks who occasionally visit the place. In the chapel are the tombs of several Patriarchs of the Chaldæan church, buried here long before its divisions, and whose titles, carved upon the monuments, are always "Patriarch of the Chaldæans of the East."* Six or eight half famished monks reside in the convent. They depend for supplies, which are scanty enough, upon the faithful of the surrounding country.

It was night before we reached the large Catholic village of Tel Kef. I had sent on a horseman in the morning, to apprise the people of my intended visit; and Gouriel, the Kiayah, with several of the principal inhabitants, had assembled to receive me. As we approached they emerged from a dark recess, where they had probably been waiting for some time. They carried a few wax lights, which served as an illumination. The motion of these lights, as the bearers advanced, was so unsteady, that there could be no doubt of the condition of the deputation.

Gouriel and his friends reeled forward towards my Cawass, who chanced to be the first of the party, and

* The seal used by Mar Shamoun bears the same title, and the Patriarch so styles himself in all public documents. It is only lately that he has been induced, on some occasions, *when addressing Europeans*, to call himself "Patriarch of the Nestorians;" the name never having been used by the Chaldæans themselves. The distinction becomes important, inasmuch as the see of Rome and the Catholics have endeavoured, with considerable success, to fix the title of Chaldæans upon the converted alone, using that of Nestorian as one of contempt and reproach, in speaking of those who have retained their ancient faith. So much odium attaches to the name, that many have joined the Catholic party to avoid it. I have termed the Nestorians "Chaldæans," or "Nestorian Chaldæans," and the new sect "Catholic Chaldæans."

believing him to be me they fell upon him, kissing his hands and feet, and clinging to his dress. Ibrahim Agha struggled hard to extricate himself, but in vain. "The Bey's behind," roared he. "Allah! Allah! will no one deliver me from these drunken infidels?" Rejoicing in the mistake, I concealed myself among the horsemen. Gouriel, seizing the bridle of Ibrahim Agha's horse, and unmindful of the blows which the Cawass dealt about him, led him in triumph to his residence. It was not before the wife of the Kiayah and some women, who had assembled to cook our dinner, brought torches, that the deputation discovered their error. I had alighted in the meanwhile unseen, and had found my way to the roof of the house, where all the cushions that could be found in the village were piled up in front of a small table covered with bottles of raki and an assortment of raisins and parched peas, all prepared in my honour. I hid myself among the pillows, and it was some time before the Kiayah discovered my retreat. He hiccuped out excuses till he was breathless, and endeavouring to kiss my feet, asked forgiveness for the unfortunate blunder. "Wallah! O Bey," exclaimed Ibrahim Agha, who had been searching for a stable, "the whole village is drunk. It is always thus with these unbelievers. They have now a good Pasha, who neither takes jerums nor extra salian,* nor quarters Hytas upon them. What dirt do they then eat? Instead of repairing their houses, and sowing their

* At Mosul Jerums mean fines; salian, the property tax, or taxes levied on corporations under the old system.

fields, they spend every para in raki, and sit eating and drinking, like hogs, night and day." I was forced to agree with Ibrahim Agha in his conclusions, and would have remonstrated with my hosts; but there was no one in a fit state to hear advice; and I was not sorry to see them at midnight scattered over the roof, buried in profound sleep. I ordered the horses to be loaded, and reached Mosul as the gates opened at daybreak.

The reader may desire to learn the fate of Tkhoma. A few days after my return to Mosul, notwithstanding the attempts of Tahyar Pasha to avert the calamity, Beder Khan Bey marched through the Tiyari mountains, levying contributions on the tribes and plundering the villages, on his way to the unfortunate district. The inhabitants of Tkhoma, headed by their Meleks, made some resistance, but were soon overpowered by numbers. An indiscriminate massacre took place. The women were brought before the chief, and murdered in cold blood. Those who attempted to escape were cut off. Three hundred women and children, who were flying into Baz, were killed in the pass I have described. The principal villages with their gardens were destroyed, and the churches pulled down. Nearly half the population fell victims to the fanatical fury of the Kurdish chief; amongst these were one of the Meleks, and Kasha Bodaca. With this good priest, and Kasha Auraham, perished the most learned of the Nestorian clergy; and Kasha Kana is the last who has inherited any part of the knowledge, and zeal, which once so eminently distinguished the Chaldæan priesthood.

The Porte was prevailed upon to punish this atrocious massacre, and to crush a rebellious subject who had long resisted its authority. An expedition was fitted out under Osman Pasha; and after two engagements, in which the Kurds were signally defeated by the Turkish troops headed by Omar Pasha, Beder Khan Bey took refuge in a mountain-castle. The position had been nearly carried, when the chief, finding defence hopeless, succeeded in obtaining from the Turkish commander, Osman Pasha, the same terms which had been offered to him before the commencement of hostilities. He was to be banished from Kurdistan; but his family and attendants were to accompany him, and he was guaranteed the enjoyment of his property. Although the Turkish ministers more than suspected that Osman Pasha had reasons of his own for granting these terms, they honourably fulfilled the conditions upon which the chief, although a rebel, had surrendered. He was brought to Constantinople, and subsequently sent to the Island of Candia, — a punishment totally inadequate to his numerous crimes.

After Beder Khan Bey had retired from Tkhoma, a few of the surviving inhabitants returned to their ruined villages; but Nur-Ullah Bey, suspecting that they knew of concealed property, fell suddenly upon them. Many died under the tortures to which they were exposed; and the rest, as soon as they were released, fled into Persia. This flourishing district was thus destroyed; and it will be long ere its cottages again rise from their ruins, and the fruits of patient toil again clothe the sides of its valleys.

CHAP. VIII.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO ASSYRIA. — ORIGIN OF THE CHALDÆAN OR NESTORIAN CHURCH. — EARLY MISSIONS OF THE CHALDÆANS. — THE MONUMENT OF SE-GAN-FOO. — THE CHALDÆANS UNDER THE ARABS. — THE LEARNING OF THE CHALDÆANS. — THEIR TRANSLATIONS OF GREEK WORKS. — THE CHALDÆANS AFTER THE TATAR INVASION. — PRESTER JOHN. — HIS LETTER TO THE GREEK EMPEROR. — EXTENT OF THE CHALDÆAN CHURCH. — DECLINE OF ITS POWER. — ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF "NESTORIANS." — DOCTRINES OF THE CHALDÆANS OR NESTORIANS. — THEIR PROFESSION OF FAITH. — THEIR TENETS. — THEIR PATRIARCH. — THEIR LANGUAGE. — AMERICAN MISSIONS.

THE account given in the preceding chapter, of the Chaldæan or Nestorian tribes, will probably have made the reader desirous of knowing something of their condition, and of the events which led to the isolation of a small Christian community in the midst of the mountains of Kurdistan. Indeed the origin of the race, as well as the important position which the Chaldæan church once held in Asia, renders the subject one of considerable historical interest. To Protestants, the doctrines and rites of a primitive sect of Christians, who have ever remained untainted by the superstitions of Rome, must be of high importance; and it is a matter of astonishment, that more curiosity has not been excited by them, and more sympathy felt for their sufferings.

In the first centuries of the Christian æra, the plains of Assyria Proper were still the battle-ground of the

nations of the East, and the West. From the fall of the Assyrian empire, whose capital was Nineveh, the rich districts watered by the Tigris and Euphrates had been continually exposed to foreign invasion. Their cities had been levelled with the ground, the canals which gave fertility to the soil had been destroyed, and a great part of the ancient population had either been exterminated or carried away captive to distant regions. Still there lingered, in the villages and around the sites of the ruined cities, the descendants of those who had formerly possessed the land. They had escaped the devastating sword of the Persians, of the Greeks, and of the Romans. They still spoke the language of their ancestors, and still retained the name of their race.

The doctrines of Christianity had early penetrated into the Assyrian provinces; they may even have been carried there by those who had imbibed them at their source. When, in the first part of the fifth century, the church was agitated by the dissensions of St. Cyril and Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Chaldæans were already recognised as one of the most extensive of the Eastern sects.

Nestorius himself was never in Assyria; but it will be remembered that, in the struggle at Ephesus between him and his rival St. Cyril, his chief supporters were the Eastern Bishops, who accompanied John of Antioch to the third œcumenical Council.* Although the peculiar doctrines held by Nestorius, had been previously promulgated on the borders of

* A.D. 431.

Assyria by Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodorus the Bishop of Mopsuestia, and had been recognised by the celebrated school of Edessa, the Ur of the Chaldees, and the last seat of their learning; yet until the persecution of the Patriarch of Constantinople, the schism had not attracted much attention. It was to the rank and sufferings of Nestorius, that the doctrines which he had maintained owed their notoriety, and those who professed them, their name.

These doctrines were alternately taught and condemned in the school of Edessa, to the time of its close, by an order of the Emperor Zeno. Those who professed them were known as the Persian party. When the Emperor called upon all Christian sects to forget their dissensions, and to subscribe the Henoticon, or, articles of Faith, Barsumas, the recusant Bishop of Nisibis, placed himself under the protection of the Persian King Firouz. Acacius, who on the murder of Babuæus was elected to the archbishopric of Seleucia or Ctesiphon*, secretly professed the Nestorian doctrines. Babæus, his successor, openly declared himself in favour of the new sect; and from his accession may be dated the first recognised establishment of the Nestorian church in the East, and the promulgation of its doctrines amongst the nations of central Asia.

Until the fall of the Sassanian dynasty, and the establishment of the Arab supremacy in the provinces to

* The names of Seleucia and Ctesiphon are very frequently confounded by the early Christian writers; but the cities stood on opposite sides of the river Tigris, and were built at different periods.

the East of the Tigris, the Chaldæans were alternately protected and persecuted; their condition mainly depending upon the relative strength of the Persian and Byzantine Empires. Still their tenets were recognised as those of the Eastern Church, and their chief, at an early period, received the title of "Patriarch of the East." They laboured assiduously to disseminate their doctrines over the continent of Asia; and it is even asserted that one of the Persian Kings was amongst their converts. From Persia, where the Chaldæan Bishoprics were early established, they spread eastwards; and Cosmas Indicopleustes, who visited Asia in the early part of the sixth century, declares that they had bishops, martyrs, and priests in India, Arabia Felix, and Socotra, amongst the Bactrians, the Huns, the Persarmenians, the Medes, and the Elamites; and that their Metropolitans even penetrated into China as early as the fifth century.*

The celebrated inscription of Se-gan-foo, which was seen by the Jesuit missionaries in the year 1625, gives many particulars regarding the state of the Chaldæan Church in China, from A. D. 620 to 781. The Chaldæans had enjoyed, during that period, with only two exceptions, the imperial favour; and their doctrines had been preached before the court, and throughout the empire. This inscription, the authenticity of which — so long contested — seems at length to be generally admitted, contains an exposition of the creed of the sect, and of their peculiar tenets and

* Cosmas Indicopleustes, in Topographiâ Christianâ, Assemani, vol. iv. p. 92. Gibbon, ch. 47. note 116. Mosheim, Hist. Tart. Eccles. pp. 8, 9.

ceremonies, a short history of the progress of Christianity in China, and the names of the missionaries who preached the Gospel in that country. The date of the erection of the monument is given in these words: "In the empire of the family of the great Tang, in the second year of the reign of Keen-Kung, on Sunday the seventh day of the month of Autumn, was erected this stone, the Bishop Hing-Kiu administering to the church of China; a Mandarin, whose name was Lieu-sie-ki-yen, and whose title was Keao-y-kuu, whose predecessor was Tae-kiew-sie-su-kan-keun, wrote this inscription with his own hand." In the margin is written, in Syriac: "In the days of the Father of Fathers, Mar Ananjesus, the Patriarch." Below are these words, also in Syriac: "In the Greek year 1092, Mar Jezedbuzd, a Presbyter and Chorepiscopus of the royal city of Chumdan, the son of Millesius of happy memory, a Presbyter of Balkh in Tochuristan, erected this tablet of stone, in which are described the precepts of our Saviour, and the preaching of our fathers to the Emperor of the Chinese." These notices fix the date of the monument to A. D. 781. The Patriarch Ananjesus died about 778; but it is highly probable that the intelligence of his death had not yet reached the far distant regions of China.*

* For a full account of this remarkable monument, which is so peculiarly interesting, as affording irrefragable proof of the spread of Christianity in Asia during the early centuries of the Christian æra, the reader is referred to Assemani, who published a transcript of the inscription. D'Herbelot has also given a description and analysis of the inscription in the supplement to his Bibliothèque Orientale, and its

We find, in the earliest annals of the Chaldæan Church, frequent accounts of missionaries sent by the Patriarchs of the East into Tatary and China, and notices of their success and of their fate.

When the Arabs invaded the territories of the Persian Kings, and spread their new faith over Asia, they found the Chaldæan Church already powerful in the East. Even in Arabia its missionaries had gained extensive influence, and Mohammed himself may have owed the traditions and learning which he embodied in the Koran to the instruction of a Chaldæan monk.* At any rate the Arabian prophet

genuineness has been canvassed by numerous controversial writers. Mr. Milman, in an able note in his edition of Gibbon's Decline and Fall (chap. xlvii.), has pointed out upon what evidence its authenticity can be established. It was discovered in the foundations of the walls of the city of Se-gan-foo. Above the Chinese inscription is the figure of a cross; the title then follows, written in three characters. The inscription itself contains sixty-two lines, counting the lines from right to left, or twenty-eight if read from top to bottom, after the manner of the Chinese. It begins by stating that it was written by King-Sing, a priest of the kingdom of Taëtsin. That which follows may be divided into twenty-one sections, containing a profession of Christian faith, an exposition of church ceremonies and observances in accordance with Nestorian doctrines, and a general history of the introduction and progress of Christianity in the Empire. The inscription is followed by seven lists of missionaries, who preached the gospel in China from the year 636, written in the ancient Syriac (Estranghelo) character. The names are Syriac, Persian (or Pehlevi), and Chinese.

The 5th section contains an account of the arrival in China of Olopuen, or Jaballah, a preacher of the Gospel of Christ, from Tacin, when Tai-kung, the second Emperor of the 13th dynasty, called Tang, was upon the throne. That monarch, by an edict published in the twelfth year of his reign, approved of the Christian religion, and commanded the Mandarins to build a church, upon the walls of which the portrait of the Emperor was painted as an ornament.

* The tradition of his connection with Sergius, a Nestorian monk, is well known.

appears to have been well disposed towards the Nestorians; for one of his first acts, after he had established his power, was to enter into a treaty with them. By this document (which, however, it is right to state, has been rejected as a forgery by several European critics, whilst its authenticity is admitted by early Mohammedan and Eastern Christian writers) not only protection, but various privileges were secured to the sect. They were freed from military service; their customs and laws were to be respected; their clergy were to be exempted from the payment of tribute; the taxes imposed on the rich were limited to twelve pieces of money, those to be paid by the poor to four; and it was expressly declared that when a Christian woman entered into the service of a Mussulman, she should not be compelled to change her religion, to abstain from her fasts, or to neglect her customary prayers, or the ceremonies enjoined by her church.* The prosperity of the Chaldæans and the toleration of the Arab conquerors are evidenced by a letter from the Patriarch Jesujabus to Simon the metropolitan of a Persian city. "Even the Arabs," he writes, "on whom the Almighty has in these days bestowed the dominion of the earth, are amongst us, as thou knowest. Yet they do not persecute the Christian religion; but, on the contrary, they commend our faith, and honour the priests and saints of the Lord,

* The substance of this treaty is given by three Syriac authors—Bar Hebræus, Maris, and Amrus. (Assemani, vol. iv. p. 59.) It was first published in Arabic and Latin by Gabriel Sionita, Paris, 1630, and is usually called the "Testamentum Mahometi."

conferring benefits upon His churches and His convents."*

At the time of the Arab invasion, the learning of the East was still chiefly to be found amongst the Chaldæans. Their knowledge and skill gained them favour in the eyes of the Caliphs, and they became their treasurers, their scribes, and their physicians. Whilst filling such high stations, and enjoying the confidence of the Sovereign, they could protect and encourage their fellow-Christians. A Bishopric was established in the new Mussulman settlement of Cufa, and shortly afterwards the seat of the Patriarchate was transferred from Seleucia and Ctesiphon, now falling into decay, to Baghdad, the new and flourishing capital of the Commanders of the Faithful.

We are indebted to the Chaldæans for the preservation of numerous precious fragments of Greek learning; as the Greeks were, many centuries before, to the ancestors of the Chaldæans for the records of astronomy and the elements of Eastern science. In the celebrated schools of Edessa, Nisibis, Seleucia, or Mahuza — as it is frequently called by the Syrian chroniclers, — and of Dorkena, the early languages of the country, the Chaldee and Syriac, as well as Greek, were publicly taught; and there were masters of the sciences of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, dialectics, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, and medicine, whose treatises were preserved in public libraries.† The works of Greek physicians

* Assemani, vol. iii. p. 131.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 943.

and philosophers had at an early period been translated into Chaldee. They excited the curiosity of the Caliphs, who were then the encouragers and patrons of learning; and by their orders they were translated by Nestorian Chaldæans into Arabic. Amongst the works confided by the Caliph Al Mamoun to his Chaldæan subjects, we find recorded those of Aristotle and Galen; and others in the Greek, Persian, Chaldæan, and Egyptian languages. He also sent learned Nestorians into Syria, Armenia, and Egypt, to collect manuscripts, and to obtain the assistance of the most learned men. When asked by a rigid Mussulman how he could trust the translation of any book to a Christian, he is said to have replied: "If I confide to him the care of my body, in which dwell my soul and my spirit, wherefore should I not entrust him with the words of a person whom I know not, especially when they relate to matters which have no reference to our faith or to his faith?" Assemani, who wrote the history of the Nestorian and Monophysite Churches, gives a long list of the translators of, and commentators upon, the treatises of Aristotle; and a Syriac writer has left an extensive catalogue of the works of Chaldee authors.

The Chaldæan Patriarchs were not insensible to the growing power of the Tatar kings, whose descendants afterwards overturned the throne of the Caliphs, and overran nearly the whole of Asia. At an early period their missionaries had penetrated into Tatary, and from the sixth century, up to the time of the conquest of Baghdad by Hulaku Khan, in the middle of the thirteenth, they had possessed great influence

over the tribes of Turkistan. They even boasted of the conversion to Christianity of more than one Tatar king, amongst whom was the celebrated Prester, or Presbyter, John. Of this strange personage, who plays so conspicuous a part in the early annals of the Church, and of whom so many fables have been related that his very existence has been doubted, there remains a curious letter. It may have been composed for him by the Chaldæan missionaries who accompanied him in his wanderings, or it may be a forgery, after their return to Europe, by some ecclesiastics who had visited his court. It contains, however, a singular and amusing description of the power and state of these Tatar kings, and shows the exaggerated ideas which prevailed regarding them. Many particulars contained in this letter are confirmed by Marco Polo, Sir John Mandeville, and other travellers; and as this circumstance goes far to prove, that it was at least written by one who had seen the country and people he describes, I have made some extracts from it. It is addressed to Alexius Comnenus, the Greek Emperor.

"Prester John, by the grace of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, the king of kings, to Alexius Comnenus, the governor of Constantinople, health and a happy end. Our Majesty has been informed that thou hast learnt our excellence, and that mention has been made to thee of our greatness. That which we desire to know is, whether thou holdest with us the true faith, and whether in all things thou believest in our Lord Jesus Christ?

"If thou desirest to know our greatness, and the excellence of our might, and over what lands our power extendeth, know and believe, without doubting, that we are Prester John, the servant of God: that we excel in all riches under Heaven, and in virtue and in power all the kings of the earth. Seventy kings are our tributaries. We are a devout Christian, and we everywhere protect, and nourish with alms, such poor Christians as are within the empire of our clemency. We have made a vow to visit the sepulchre of our Lord with a great army, as it becometh the glory of our Majesty, to wage war against and humiliate the enemies of the cross of Christ, and to exalt His holy name.* Our magnificence ruleth over the three Indias; and our territories stretch beyond the furthermost India, in which resteth the body of the blessed Apostle, Thomas; thence through the wilderness they extend towards the rising of the sun, and, returning towards the going-down thereof, to Babylon, the Deserted, even to the Tower of Babel. Seventy-two provinces obey us, a few of which are christian provinces; and each hath its own king. And all their kings are our tributaries. In our territories are found elephants, dromedaries, and camels, and almost every kind of beast that is under Heaven. Our dominions flow with milk and honey. In one portion of our territories no poisons can harm; in another grow all kinds of pepper; and a third is so

* A similar vow was exacted by Haiton, the Christian King of Armenia, from Mango Cham, the fourth Emperor of the Tatars in 1253. (Histoire Orientale, ou des Tartares, par Haiton, parent du Roi d'Arménie. Bergeron, Collect. de Voyages, vol. ii.)

thick with groves that it resembleth a forest, and is full of serpents in every part. There is also a sandy sea without water. Three days' journey from this sea there are mountains from which descend rivers of stones. Near these mountains is a desert between inhospitable hills. Under ground there floweth a rivulet, to which there appeareth to be no access; and this rivulet falleth into a river of greater size, wherein men of our dominions enter, and obtain therefrom precious stones in great abundance. Beyond this river are ten tribes of Jews, who, although they pretend to have their own kings, are nevertheless our servants and tributaries.* In another of our provinces, near the torrid zone, are worms, which in our tongue are called Salamanders. These worms can only live in fire, and make a skin around them as the silk-worm. This skin is carefully spun by the ladies of our palace, and from it we have cloth for our common use. This cloth can only be washed in a bright fire.† Our army is preceded by thirteen great crosses of gold and precious stones‡; but when we ride out without state, a cross unadorned with figures, gold, or jewels, that we may be ever mindful of our Lord

* In Marco Polo's Travels (lib. ii. c. 2.) Jews are described as being in the army of the Emperor Cublai. It seems, therefore that it was not in this century alone that the lost tribes were traced to Tatary.

† The Salamander is also described by Marco Polo (lib. i. ch. 47.). The cloth is mentioned in the inscription on the celebrated stone of Se-gan-foo (D'Herbelot, vol. iv. p. 380.). This fable, or exaggeration, which was probably of very early date, appears therefore to have been current amongst the Tatars or amongst the Chaldæans.

‡ The army of Naiam, when he rebelled against Cublai, was preceded by a cross. (Marco Polo, lib. ii. ch. 6.)

Jesus Christ, and a silver vase filled with gold, that all men may know that we are the king of kings, are carried before us. We visit yearly the body of the holy prophet Daniel, which is in Babylon, the Desert.* Our palace is of ebony and shittim wood, and cannot be injured by fire. On its roof, at each end, are two golden apples, and in each apple are two carbuncles, that the gold may shine by day and the carbuncles give light by night. The greater gates are of sardonyx, mingled with horn, so that none may enter with poison; the lesser gates are of ebony. The windows are of crystal. The tables are of gold and amethyst, and the columns, which sustain them, are of ivory. The chamber in which we sleep is a wonderful work of gold and silver, and every manner of precious stones. Within it incense is ever burning. Our bed is of sapphire. We have the most beautiful wives. We feed daily 30,000 men, besides casual guests; and all these receive daily sums from our chamber, to nourish their horses, and to be otherwise employed. During each month we are served by seven kings (by each one in his turn), by sixty-five dukes, and by three hundred and sixty-five counts. In our hall there dine daily, on our right hand, twelve archbishops, on our left twenty bishops, besides the Patriarch of St. Thomas and the Protopapas of Salmas, and the Archi-protopapas of Susa, in which city is the throne of our glory and our imperial palace. Abbots, according to

* According to tradition the tomb of Daniel was preserved amongst the ruins of Susa, or in a valley of the Bakhtiyari mountains. We have no other mention of its existence at Babylon.

the number of the days in the year, minister to us in our chapel. Our butler is a primate and a king; our steward is an archbishop and a king; our chamberlain is a bishop and a king; our mareschal is an archimandrite and a king; and our head cook is a king and an abbot; but we assume an inferior rank, and a more humble name, that we may prove our great humility."

The Chaldæan missionaries do not appear to have had the same success with other Tatar monarchs as with Prester John. If they refused to embrace the Christian religion, there is, nevertheless, evidence to prove that their wives and children, in many instances, were amongst the converts. Their influence secured to the Christians the toleration of their religion, although it may not have been sufficient to enable them to extend it. Amongst those who married a Christian wife may be mentioned the celebrated Ginghis Khan, whose four children were probably brought up in the faith of their mother. The Metropolitan of the Tatar branch of the Chaldæan church resided at Meru, or Merv. This city, built upon the ruins of the Margiana Alexandria of the Macedonian conqueror, stood on the south-western borders of those vast steppes which stretch eastwards to the frontiers of China; and formed, in the days of its prosperity, the principal station in the great caravan route between Persia and Bokhara, Balkh, Samarcand, and the cities of Transoxiana. These plains were subsequently occupied by roving Tatar tribes; the most numerous of which were known to the early

Christian historians, as the Keraites. The chief of this tribe was looked upon as the sovereign of that great region. He resided in the city of Karakorum, at the foot of the mountains of Altai, the burial place of the kings of his race. It is singular that a Chaldæan Patriarch first announced, in the hall of the Caliphs, the progress from the north of these innumerable hordes, which were destined, ere long, to sweep away the dynasty of the prophet, and to defile the palaces of Baghdad. The incident, as described by Eastern writers *, is highly interesting; and it so strikingly illustrates the manners of the people who now inhabit the city where the scene occurred, that it is worth recording.

The Chaldæan Patriarch had received a letter from his Metropolitan at Samarcand, giving him an account of the new race which had appeared. He hastened to communicate the news to the Caliph, and read the letter before the divan, or assembly of councillors and chiefs. A people, numerous as the locust-cloud, had burst from the mountains between Thibet and Kotan, and were pouring down upon the fertile plains of Kashgar. They were commanded by seven kings, each at the head of 70,000 horsemen. The warriors were as swarthy as Indians. They used no water in their ablutions; nor did they cut their hair. They were most skilful archers, and were content with simple and frugal fare. Their horses were fed upon meat. The Arabs

* Abulfaraj in Chronico Syriaco ad an. Hegiræ 438. Assemani, vol iv. p. 487.

listened with wonder and incredulity to these strange reports. The mode of feeding the horses chiefly astonished them; and they refused to credit the assertion, until one of their number declared that he himself had seen horses in Arabia which were not only fed upon raw meat, but even upon fried fish.*

I will not trouble the reader with a detailed account of the alternate reverses and successes of the Chaldæan missionaries in the interior of Asia, although the history of their labours in that region is one of high interest; but I cannot refrain from adding a list of the twenty-five Metropolitan bishops, who, at the time of the capture of Baghdad by Hulaku Khan, recognised the Chaldæan Patriarch as the head of the Eastern church. This list will serve to show the success of the Chaldæan missions, and the influence which they possessed at this time in Asia. The sees of these Metropolitans were scattered over the continent, from the shores of the Caspian to the Chinese seas, and from the most northern boundaries of Scythia to the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula. They included, 1. Elam and Jundishapoor (Susiana, or the modern Persian province of Khuzistan); 2. Nisibis; 3. Mesena, or Busrah; 4. Assyria, or Adiabene, including the cities of Mosul and Arbela; 5. Beth-Garma, or Beth-Seleucia, and Carcha (in Assyria); 6. Halavan, or Halacha (the modern Zohab, on the confines of Assyria and Media); 7. Persia, comprising the cities of Ormuz, Salmas, and

* The practice of occasionally giving raw meat to horses still exists in some parts of Arabia.

Van; 8. Meru (Merv in Khorassan); 9. Hara (Herat); 10. The Razichitæ, or Arabia, and Cotroba; 11. China; 12. India; 13. Armenia; 14. Syria, or Damascus; 15. Bardaa, or Aderbijan (the Persian province of Azerbijan); 16. Raia and Tabrestan (Ray, Rha, or Rhagæ, perhaps the Rhages of Tobit, near the modern city of Teheran,—Tabrestan comprised a part of Ghilan and Mazanderan, the ancient Hyrcania); 17. The Dailamites (to the south of the Caspian Sea); 18. Samarcand and Mavaralnahr (Transoxiana); 19. Cashgar and Turkistan (Independent Tatary); 20. Balkh and Tocharestan (Bactria); 21. Segestan (Seistan); 22. Hamadan (Media); 23. Chanbalek (Cambalu, or Pekin in China); 24. Tanchet (Tanguth in Tatary); 25. Chasemgara and Nuacheta (districts of Tatary).

All these Metropolitans were in direct communication with the Nestorian Patriarch; and those whose sees were too distant to admit of their frequently tendering in person their obedience to him, as the head of the Eastern church, were expected to send to him every sixth year a report upon the condition of their flock, and a renewed confession of their faith.

After the fall of the Caliphs, the power of the Chaldæan Patriarch in the East rapidly declined. The sect endured persecution from the Tatar sovereigns, and had to contend against even more formidable rivals in the Catholic missionaries, who now began to spread themselves over Asia. The first great persecution of the Chaldæans appears to have taken place during the reign of Kassan, the son of Arghoun, the grand-

son of Hulaku. But it is to the merciless Tamerlane, that their reduction to a few wanderers in the provinces of Assyria must be attributed. He followed them with relentless fury ; destroyed their churches, and put to the sword all who were unable to escape to the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Kurdish mountains. Those who at that time sought the heights and valleys of Kurdistan, were the descendants of the ancient Assyrians, and the remnant of one of the earliest Christian sects.

From the year 1413, the Chaldæan records contain scarcely any mention of the existence of the Nestorian church beyond the confines of Kurdistan. The seat of the Patriarchate had been removed from Baghdad to Mosul, and from thence, for greater security, to an almost inaccessible valley near the modern Kurdish castle of Julamerik, on the borders of Persia. A few Chaldæans still dwelt in the cities and villages of the plains; but they were exposed not only to the persecutions of Turkish governors, but to the machinations of Popish emissaries, and did not long retain their faith. Those alone who had found refuge in Kurdistan, and on the banks of the Lake of Oroomiah in Persia, remained faithful to the church. The former maintained a kind of semi-independence, and boasted that no conqueror had penetrated into their secluded valleys. Although they recognised the supremacy of the Sultan by the payment of an annual tribute, no governors had been sent to their districts ; nor, until the invasion and massacre described in the last

chapter, had any Turk, or Kurd, exercised authority in their villages.

It is only in the mountains of Kurdistan, and in the villages of the district of Oroomiah in Persia, that any remnant of this once wide-spreading sect can now be discovered; unless, indeed, the descendants of those whom they converted still preserve their faith in some remote province of the Chinese Empire. The Nestorians of India were even in the last century represented by the Christians of St. Thomas, who inhabit the coast of Malabar; but, from some unexplained cause, this community, a few years ago, abandoned its Church, and united with the Jacobites, or Monophysites.*

By a series of the most open frauds, the Roman Catholic emissaries obtained many of the documents which constituted the title of the Chaldæan Patriarch, and gave him a claim to be protected, and to be recognised as head of the Chaldæan church by the Turkish authorities. By a system of persecution and violence which could scarcely be credited, the Chaldæans of the plain were compelled to renounce their faith, and to unite with the Church of Rome. A rival Patriarch, who appropriated to himself the titles and functions of the Patriarch of the East, was elected, not *by* but *for* the Seceders, and was put forward as a rival to the true head of the Eastern Church. Still, as is the case in all such forced conversions, the change was more nominal than real;

* There may have been from the earliest Christian period a mixture of Nestorians and Jacobites on the Malabar coast.

and to this day the people retain their old forms and ceremonies, their festivals, their chronology, and their ancient language in their prayers and holy books. They are even now engaged in a struggle with the church of Rome, for the maintenance of these last relics of their race and faith.

If I have, in these volumes, sometimes called the Chaldæans "Nestorians," it is because that name has been generally given to them. It is difficult to ascertain when it was first used; probably not before the Roman Catholic missionaries, who were brought into contact with them, found it necessary and politic to treat them as schismatics, and to bestow upon them a title which conveyed the stigma of a heresy. By the Chaldæans themselves the name has ever been disavowed; and although Nestorius is frequently mentioned in their rituals, and book of prayer, as one of the fathers of their church, yet they deny that they received their doctrines from him. Ebedjesus, a Chaldæan, who wrote in the fourteenth century, asserts that "the Orientals have not changed the truth; but, as they received it from the Apostles, so have they retained it without variation. They are therefore called Nestorians without reason, and injuriously. Nestorius followed them, and not they Nestorius." And even Assemani, a member of the Romish church, who wrote their history, calls them "Chaldæans or Assyrians; whom, from that part of the globe which they inhabit, we term Orientals; and, from the heresy they profess, Nestorians." * Paul V., in a letter to the

* Vol. iv. p. 1.

Patriarch Elias, admits their origin. "A great part of the East," says he, "was infected by this heresy (of Nestorius); especially the Chaldæans; who, for this reason, have been called Nestorians." * The name still used by the people themselves is, "Chaldani," except when designating any particular tribe; and the Mussulmans apply to them the common epithet of "Nasara." The Patriarch still styles himself, in his letters, and in official documents, "the Patriarch of the Chaldæans, or of the Christians of the East;" using the titles which are found on the tombs of such of his predecessors as were buried in the convent of Rabban Hormuzd, before it fell into the possession of the converts to Roman Catholicism. †

The peculiar doctrine of the Chaldæans — that which has earned for them the epithet of heretics — may be explained in a few words. With Nestorius they assert "the divisibility and separation of the two persons, as well as of the two natures, in Christ;" or, as Assemani has more fully defined it, "the attribution of two persons to Christ, the one being the Word of God, the other the man Jesus; for, according to Nestorius, the man formed in the womb of the Virgin was not the only-begotten Word of God, and the Incarnation was not the natural and hypostatic Union of the Word with the human nature, but the mere inhabiting of the Word of God in man — that is, in the human nature subsisting of itself — as it were in its Temple." ‡ This, of course, involves

* Assemani, vol. iv. p. 75.

† See previous chapter, p. 236.

‡ Assemani, vol. iv. p. 190.

the refusal of the title of "Mother of God" to the Virgin, which the Chaldæans still reject, although they do not admit, to their full extent, the tenets on account of which they are accused of heresy by the Church of Rome. The distinctions they make upon this point, however, are so subtle and so refined, that it is difficult for one who discourses with them to understand that which most probably they scarcely comprehend themselves. The profession of faith adopted by the Fathers of their church, and still repeated twice a day by the Chaldæans, differs in few respects from the Nicene creed. I give it entire, as it is both interesting and important. In their books it is entitled, "The Creed, which was composed by three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, who were assembled at Nice, a city of Bithynia, in the time of King Constantine the Pious, on account of Arius, the Infidel accursed."

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Creator of all things, which are visible and invisible:

"And in our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten of his Father before all worlds: who was not created: the true God of the true Gods; of the same substance with his Father, by whose hands the worlds were made, and all things were created; who for us men and for our salvation decended from Heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, and became man, and was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered and was crucified, in the days of Pontius Pilate, and died, and was buried and rose on the third day, according to the

Scriptures, and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of his Father, and is again to come and judge the living and the dead.

"And we believe in one Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth, who proceeded from the Father — the Spirit that giveth light:

"And in one holy and universal Church.

"We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting."

It will be perceived that there is nothing in this creed to authorise the violent charge of heresy made against the Chaldæans by their enemies; and it is certainly evident, not only from this document, but from the writings of Nestorius himself and the earliest Fathers of the Eastern Church, that much more has been made of the matter in dispute than its importance deserves.* But however this may be, it should be remembered that it is only with *this* fundamental heresy that the Roman Catholic charges the Chaldæan. It is not denied that in other respects they have retained, to a great extent and in all their purity, the doctrines and forms of the primitive Church. Mosheim, whose impartiality can scarcely be doubted, thus speaks of them: "It is to the lasting honour of the Nestorian sect, that of all the Christian societies established in the East, they have preserved themselves the most free from the

* See Assemani, vol. iv. p. 192. Researches in Armenia, &c., by Smith and Dwight, vol. ii. p. 225. Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Cent. XVI. sect. iii.

numberless superstitions which have found their way into the Greek and Latin Churches."* It is, therefore, highly interesting to a Protestant to ascertain in what respects they differ from other Christian sects, and what their belief and observances really are.

They refuse to the Virgin those titles, and that exaggerated veneration, which were the origin of most of the superstitions and corruptions of the Romish and Eastern Churches.

They deny the doctrine of Purgatory, and are most averse, not only to the worship of images, but even to their exhibition.

The figure of the cross is found in their churches, and they are accustomed to make the sign in common with other Christians of the East; this ceremony, however, is not considered essential, but rather in the light of a badge of Christianity, and as a sign of brotherhood among themselves, scattered as they are amidst men of a hostile faith.

In the rejection of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, they agree with the Reformed Church; although some of their earlier writers have so treated of the subject as to lead to the supposition that they admit the actual presence. Any such admission is, however, undoubtedly at variance with their present professions, and with the assertions that I have, on more than one occasion, heard from their Patriarch and priests.

Both the bread and wine are distributed amongst the communicants, and persons of all ages are allowed

* Mosheim, Cent. XVI. sect. iii. part i.

to partake of the sacred elements. Christians of all denominations are admitted to receive the holy sacrament, whilst Chaldæans are allowed to communicate in any Christian church.

With regard to the number and nature of their sacraments, their books are full of discrepancies. Nor were the statements I received from the Patriarch, and various priests, more consistent. The number *seven* is always mentioned in the earliest Chaldæan writers, and is traditionally retained to this day; but what these seven sacraments really are, no one seems to know. Baptism is accompanied by confirmation, as in the Armenian church, when the *meiron*, or consecrated oil, is used; a drop being placed on the forehead of the child. This confirmation, or consecration, appears to have originated in the custom of giving extreme unction to an infant, in the fear that it might die soon after immersion. Through the ignorance of its origin, this distinct sacrament came to be considered an integral part of baptism: but neither extreme unction nor confirmation appears to have been recognised as a sacrament by the Chaldæans.* Auricular confession, which once was practised as a sacrament, has now fallen into disuse.†

A doubt also exists as to whether marriage is to be considered a sacrament. In the early ages of the Chaldæan church, the degrees of consanguinity and affinity, within which intermarriages were prohibited,

* La Croze, Christianisme des Indes, lib. iii. p. 176. Assemani, vol. iv. p. 27. Smith and Dwight, Researches in Armenia, pp. 227, 228.

† Assemani, vol. iv. p. 285.

were numerous and complicated. Ebedjesus enumerates sixty-two; but the laws on this subject, if ever very strictly observed, have been greatly relaxed. The Patriarch has the power of pronouncing a divorce, and is the sole judge of the sufficiency of the grounds.

The five lower grades of the clergy, including the Archdeacon *, are allowed to marry. In the early ages of the church, the same privilege was extended to the bishop and archbishop, and even to the Patriarch.

Ordination is a sacrament. Oil is only used in the ordination of the Patriarch. In other instances prayers are said over the candidates, with an imposition of hands, and with the tonsure of so much of the hair from the crown of the head, as when grasped in the hand rises above it. The early age at which the clergy, including bishops, priests, and deacons, are ordained, has long formed a ground of reproach against the Chaldæan church; which, in this respect, differs not only from all other Eastern churches, but acts in direct opposition to its own statutes.

The fasts of the Chaldæans are numerous, and they are very strictly observed, even fish not being eaten. There are 152 days in the year in which abstinence from animal food is enjoined; and although, during the time I was carrying on my excavations, I frequently obtained from the Patriarch a dispensation

* The Chaldæan Church reckons eight orders of clergy. 1. The Katoleeka, or Patriarka, the head. 2. The Mutran or Metrapoleeta, the archbishop. 3. The Khalfa, or Episkopa, the bishop. 4. The Arkidyakono, or Archdeacon. 5. The Kasha, or Kesheesha, the priest. 6. The Shammasha, the deacon. 7. The Hoopodyakono, or subdeacon. And 8. The Karooya, or Reader.

for the workmen, they never seemed inclined to avail themselves of it. The feasts are observed with equal strictness. On the sabbath no Chaldæan performs a journey, or does any work. Their feasts, and fast days, commence at sunset, and terminate at sunset on the following day.

The Patriarch is always chosen, if not of necessity, at least by general consent, from one family. It is necessary that the mother should abstain from meat and all animal food, some months before the birth of a child, who is destined for the high office of chief of the Chaldæan Church. The Patriarch himself never tastes meat. Vegetables and milk constitute his only nourishment. He should be consecrated by three Metropolitans, and he always receives the name of Shamoun, or Simon; whilst his rival, the Patriarch of the converted Chaldæans, in like manner, always assumes that of Usuf, or Joseph.

The language of the Chaldæans is a Shemitic dialect allied to the Hebrew, the Arabic, and the Syriac, and still bears the name of Chaldee. Most of their church books are written in Syriac, which, like the Latin in the West, became the sacred language in the greater part of the East. The dialect spoken by the mountain tribes varies slightly from that used in the villages of the plains; but the differences arise chiefly from local circumstances: and it is a singular and interesting fact, that the Chaldæan spoken near Mosul, is almost identical with the language of that very remarkable tribe the Sabæans, or Christians of St. John, as they are vulgarly called, who are found in the districts

near the mouths of the Euphrates, and the province of Khuzistan, or Susiana; and are probably the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Babylonia and Chaldæa.

It will be seen, from the foregoing remarks, that there are some most striking points of resemblance between the Chaldæan Christians, and the members of the Protestant church; which are the more important, and the more deserving of attention, inasmuch as they confirm many of the doctrines of the Reformed religion, and connect them with those of the primitive church: and whilst the peculiar doctrine which has brought upon them the accusation of heresy — even admitting it to the fullest extent — can only be charged against them as an innovation: their being uncontaminated by the superstitions of the church of Rome, and their more simple observances and ceremonies, may be clearly traced to the primitive form of Christianity received by them before they were corrupted. Isolated amongst the remote valleys of Kurdistan, and cut off from all intercourse with other Christian communities, they have preserved, almost intact, their primitive faith. Corruptions may have crept in, and ignorance may have led to the neglect of doctrines and ceremonies; but, on the whole, it is a matter of wonder that, after the lapse of nearly seventeen centuries, the Chaldæans should still be what they are. There are no sects in the East, and few in the West, who can boast of such purity in their faith, or of such simplicity in their forms of worship.

The Protestants of America have, for some time past, taken a deep interest in the Chaldæans. Their

missionaries have opened schools in and around Oroomiah. A printing press has been established, and several works, including the Scriptures, have already been issued in the vernacular language of the people, and printed in a character peculiar to them. Their labours have, I believe, been successful. Although members of the Independent Church, they profess to avoid any interference with the Ecclesiastical system of the Chaldæans; admitting, I am informed, that Episcopacy is the form of church government best suited to a sect circumstanced as the Chaldæans are.

It is to be hoped that the establishment of the authority of the Sultan in the mountains, and the removal of several of the most fanatical and blood-thirsty of the Kurdish chiefs, will enable the Chaldæans to profess their faith without hindrance or restraint; and that, freed from fears of fresh aggression, they may, by their activity and industry, restore fresh prosperity to their mountain districts. As the only remnant of a great nation, every one must feel an interest in their history and condition; and our sympathies cannot but be excited in favour of a long persecuted people, who have merited the title of "the Protestants of Asia."

CHAP. IX.

INVITATION TO THE FEAST OF THE YEZIDIS. — DEPARTURE FROM MOSUL. — BAADRI. — HUSSEIN BEY, THE YEZIDI CHIEF. — THE BIRTH OF HIS SON. — HISTORY OF THE YEZIDIS. — RETURN OF A DEPUTATION. — RIDE TO THE TOMB OF SHEIKH ADI. — OUR RECEPTION. — SHEIKH NASR. — DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB. — ARRIVAL OF PILGRIMS. — AN INCIDENT. — SHEIKH SHEMS, OR THE SUN. — VOTIVE LAMPS. — CELEBRATION OF RITES. — YEZIDI MUSIC. — THE DOCTRINES AND RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES OF THE SECT. — THEIR BELIEF IN, AND FEAR OF, THE EVIL PRINCIPLE. — THE PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THEIR RITES. — THEIR ORDERS OF PRIESTHOOD. — THEIR LANGUAGE AND BOOKS. — RETURN TO MOSUL. — LETTER OF SHEIKH NASR. — DEPARTURE FOR THE SINJAR. — ABOU MARIA. — TEL AFER. — MIRKAN. — DEFEAT OF THE TURKISH TROOPS. — ESCAPE OF THE YEZIDIS. — THE VILLAGE OF SINJAR. — WILD ASSES. — RETURN TO MOSUL.

A FEW days after my return to Mosul from the Tiyari mountains, a Cawal, or priest of the Yezidis, or Worshippers of the Devil, was sent by Sheikh Nasr, the religious chief of that remarkable sect, to invite Mr. Rassam and myself to their great periodical feast. The Vice-consul was unable to accept the invitation; but I seized with eagerness the opportunity of being present at ceremonies not before witnessed by an European — ceremonies which have given rise, among Mussulmans and Christians, to fables confounding the practices of the Yezidis with those of the Ansyri of Syria; and ascribing to them certain midnight orgies, which have earned them the epithet of Cheragh Sonderan, or "the Extinguishers of Lights."

The prejudices of the inhabitants of the country have extended to travellers. The mysteries of the sect have been traced to the worship introduced by Semiramis, into the very mountains they now inhabit — a worship which, impure in its forms, led to every excess of debauchery and lust. The quiet and inoffensive demeanour of the Yezidis, and the cleanliness and order of their villages, do not certainly warrant these charges. Their known respect or fear for the evil principle has acquired for them the title of "Worshippers of the Devil." Many stories are current as to the emblems by which this spirit is represented. They are believed by some to adore a cock, by others a peacock; but their worship, their tenets, and their origin were alike a subject of mystery, which I felt anxious to clear up as far as I was able.

The origin of my invitation proves that the Yezidis may lay claim to a virtue which is, unfortunately, not of frequent occurrence in the East,—I mean gratitude. When Keritli Oglu, Mohammed Pasha, first came to Mosul, this sect was amongst the objects of his cupidity and tyranny. He seized by treachery, as he supposed, their head or high priest; but Sheikh Nasr had time to escape the plot against him, and to substitute in his place the second in authority, who was carried a prisoner to the town. Such is the attachment shown by the Yezidis to their chief, that the deceit was not revealed, and the substitute bore with resignation the tortures and imprisonment inflicted upon him. Mr. Rassam having been applied to, obtained his release from the Pasha, on the advance of a considerable sum

of money, which the inhabitants of the district of Sheikhan undertook to repay, in course of time, out of the produce of their fields. They punctually fulfilled the engagement thus entered into, and looked to the British Vice-consul as their protector.

Owing to the disturbed state of the country, and the misconduct of the late Pashas, some years had elapsed since the Yezidis had assembled at Sheikh Adi. The short rule of Ismail Pasha, and the conciliatory measures of the new governor, had so far restored confidence amongst persons of all sects, that the Worshippers of the Devil had determined to celebrate their great festival with more than ordinary solemnity and rejoicings. It was customary for the Yezidis, when sufficiently powerful to defend themselves against the attacks of Kurds and Arabs, to meet periodically in large numbers at the tomb of their great Saint. Men and women from the Sinjar, and from the northern districts of Kurdistan, left their tents and pastures to be present at the solemnisation of their holy rites. This year, as the roads were once more free from plunderers, it was expected that the distant tribes would again repair to the tomb of the Sheikh.

I quitted Mosul, accompanied by Hodja Toma (the dragoman of the Vice-consulate), and the Cawal, or priest, sent by Sheikh Nasr. We were joined on the road by several Yezidis, who were, like ourselves, on their way to the place of meeting. We passed the night in a small hamlet near Khorsabad, and reached Baadri early next day. This village, the residence of Sheikh Nasr, the religious, and Hussein Bey, the poli-

tical chief of the Yezidis, is built at the foot of the line of hills crossed in my previous journey to the Chaldæan Mountains, and about five miles to the north of Ain Sifni. We travelled over the same dreary plain, leaving the mound of Jerrahiyah to our right.

On approaching the village I was met by Hussein Bey, followed by the priests and principal inhabitants on foot. The chief was about eighteen years of age, and one of the handsomest young men I ever saw. His features were regular and delicate, his eye lustrous, and the long curls, which fell from under his variegated turban, of the deepest black. An ample white cloak of fine texture, was thrown over his rich jacket and robes. I dismounted as he drew near, and he endeavoured to kiss my hand; but to this ceremony I decidedly objected; and we compromised matters by embracing each other after the fashion of the country. He then insisted upon leading my horse, which he wished me to remount, and it was with difficulty that I at length prevailed upon him to walk with me into the village. He led me to his salamlik, or reception room, in which carpets and cushions had been spread. Through the centre ran a stream of fresh water, derived from a neighbouring spring. The people of the place stood at the lower end of the room, and listened in respectful silence to the conversation between their chief and myself.

Breakfast was brought to us from the Harem of Hussein Bey; and the crowd having retired after we had eaten, I was left during the heat of the day to enjoy the cool temperature of the salamlik.

I was awakened in the afternoon by that shrill cry of the women, which generally announces some happy event. The youthful chief entered soon afterwards, followed by a long retinue. It was evident, from the smile upon his features, that he had joyful news to communicate. He seated himself on my carpet, and thus addressed me:—"O Bey, your presence has brought happiness on our house. At your hands we receive nothing but good. We are all your servants; and, praise be to the Highest, in this house another servant has been born to you. The child is yours; he is our first-born, and he will grow up under your shadow. Let him receive his name from you, and be hereafter under your protection." The assembly joined in the request, and protested that this event, so interesting to all the tribe, was solely to be attributed to my fortunate visit. I was not quite aware of the nature of the ceremony, if any, in which I might be expected to join on naming the new-born chief. Notwithstanding my respect and esteem for the Yezidis, I could not but admit that there were some doubts as to the propriety of their tenets and form of worship; and I was naturally anxious to ascertain the amount of responsibility which I might incur, in standing godfather to a devil-worshipping baby. However, as I was assured that no other form was necessary than the mere selection of a name (the rite of baptism being reserved for a future day, when the child could be carried to the tomb of Sheikh Adi, and could bear immersion in its sacred waters,) I thus answered Hussein Bey:—"O Bey, I rejoice in this happy event, for which

we must return thanks to God. May this son be but the first of many who will preserve, as their forefathers have done, the fame and honour of your house. As you ask of me a name for this child I could give you many, which, in my language and country, are well-sounding and honourable; but your tongue could not utter them, and they would moreover be without meaning. Were it usual I would call him after his father, whose virtues he will no doubt imitate; but such is not the custom. I have not forgotten the name of his grandfather, — a name which is dear to the Yezidis, and still brings to their memory the days of their prosperity and happiness. Let him therefore be known as Ali Bey; and may he live to see the Yezidis as they were in the time of him after whom he is called."—This oration, which was accompanied by a few gold coins to be sewn to the cap of the infant, was received with great applause; and the name of Ali Bey was unanimously adopted; one of the chief's relations hastening to the harem, to communicate it to the ladies. He returned with a carpet and some embroidery, as presents from the mother, and with an invitation to the harem to see the females of the family. I found there the chief's mother and his second wife; for he had already taken two. They assured me that the lady, who had just brought joy to the house, was even more thankful than her husband; and that her gratitude to me, as the author of her happiness, was unbounded. They brought me honey and strings of dried figs from the Sinjar, and entertained me with domestic histories until I thought it time to return to the Salamlik.

The Yezidis were some years ago a very powerful tribe. Their principal strongholds were the district which I was now visiting, and the Jebel Sinjar, a solitary mountain rising in the centre of the Mesopotamian desert to the north of Mosul. The last independent chief of the Yezidis of Sheikhan was Ali Bey, the father of Hussein Bey. He was beloved by his tribe, and sufficiently brave and skilful in war to defend them, for many years, against the attacks of the Kurds and Mussulmans of the plain. The powerful Bey of Rowandiz, who had united most of the Kurdish tribes of the surrounding mountains under his banner, and had defied for many years the Turks and the Persians, resolved to crush the hateful sect of the Yezidis. Ali Bey's forces were greatly inferior in numbers to those of his persecutor. He was defeated, and fell into the hands of the Rowandiz chief, who put him to death. The inhabitants of Sheikhan fled to Mosul. It was in spring; the river had overflowed its banks, and the bridge of boats had been removed. A few succeeded in crossing the stream; but a vast crowd of men, women, and children were left upon the opposite side, and congregated on the great mound of Kouyunjik. The Bey of Rowandiz followed them. An indiscriminate slaughter ensued; and the people of Mosul beheld, from their terraces, the murder of these unfortunate fugitives, who cried to them in vain for help — for both Christians and Mussulmans rejoiced in the extermination of an odious and infidel sect, and no arm was lifted in their defence. Hussein Bey, having been carried by

his mother to the mountains, escaped the general slaughter. He was carefully brought up by the Yezidis, and from his infancy had been regarded as their chief.

The inhabitants of the Sinjar were soon after subdued by Mehemet Reshid Pasha, and a second time by Hafiz Pasha. On both occasions there was a massacre, and the population was reduced by three-fourths. The Yezidis took refuge in caves, where they were either suffocated by fires lighted at the mouth, or destroyed by discharges of cannon.

It will be remembered that Mohammedans, in their dealings with men of other creeds, make a distinction between such as are believers in the sacred books, and such as have no recognised inspired works. To the first category belong Christians of all denominations, as receiving the two testaments; and the Jews, as followers of the old. With Christians and Jews, therefore, they may treat, make peace, and live; but with such as are included in the second class, the good Mussulman can have no intercourse. No treaty nor oath, when they are concerned, is binding. They have the choice between conversion and the sword, and it is unlawful even to take tribute from them. The Yezidis, not being looked upon as "Masters of a Book," have been exposed for centuries to the persecution of the Mohammedans. The harems of the south of Turkey have been recruited from them. Yearly expeditions have been made by the governors of provinces into their districts; and, whilst the men and women were slaughtered without mercy, the

children of both sexes were carried off, and exposed for sale in the principal towns. These annual hunts were one of the sources of revenue of Beder Khan Bey; and it was the custom of the Pashas of Baghdad and Mosul to let loose the irregular troops upon the ill-fated Yezidis, as an easy method of satisfying their demands for arrears of pay. This system was still practised to a certain extent within a very few months; and gave rise to atrocities scarcely equalled in the better known slave trade. It may be hoped that the humane and tolerant policy of the Sultan, which has already conferred such great and lasting benefits upon multitudes of his subjects, will be extended to this unfortunate sect.

It was not unnatural that the Yezidis should revenge themselves, whenever an opportunity might offer, upon their oppressors. They formed themselves into bands, and were long the terror of the country. No Mussulman that fell into their hands was spared. Caravans were plundered, and merchants murdered without mercy. Christians, however, were not molested; for the Yezidis looked upon them as fellow-sufferers for religion's sake.

These acts of retaliation furnished an excuse for the invasion of the Sinjar by Mehemet Reshid and Hafiz Pashas. Since the great massacres which then took place, the Yezidis have been completely subdued, and have patiently suffered under their misfortunes. Their devotion to their religion is no less remarkable than that of the Jews; and I remember no instance of a person of full age renouncing his

faith. They invariably prefer death, and submit with resignation to the tortures inflicted upon them. Even children of tender age, although educated in Turkish harems, and nominally professing the Mussulman religion, have frequently retained in secret the peculiar doctrines of the sect, and have been in communication with Yezidi priests.

Sheikh Nasr had already left Baadri, and was preparing for the religious ceremonies at the tomb of Sheikh Adi. I visited his wife, and was gratified by the unaffected hospitality of my reception, and the cleanliness of the house and of its scanty furniture. All the dwellings which I entered appeared equally neat, and well built. Some stood in small gardens filled with flowers, and near them were streams of running water, brought from the abundant springs which issue from the hill above the village.

Late in the afternoon two horsemen arrived, as if from a long journey. Their garments were torn, and their faces bronzed and weather beaten. They were received with general demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants of the village, who crowded round them. Throwing down their guns, they kissed my hand, and then that of the chief. They had returned from a mission to a branch of the Yezidis, who had crossed the frontiers some years before, and had taken refuge from the tyranny of the Kurds in the Russian territories. On a former occasion, the Yezidis of Sheikhan had sent a deputation to their brethren, to ask for pecuniary assistance towards the support of their clergy, and the repair of the tomb of Sheikh

Adi. The deputies having, however, fallen into the hands of the chief of Bitlis, were murdered. The two horsemen, who had just arrived, were more fortunate than their predecessors, — not only escaping the many dangers of the journey, but bringing back a considerable sum of money. They described the flourishing state of those they had visited, and the wonders they had seen in Georgia. Leaving them in the midst of a large crowd of men, who were listening with eagerness to their relation, I walked to the ruins of the fort built by Ali Bey, which crowns a hill overhanging the village.

On the outskirts of the houses, I found the women performing their ablutions in the principal stream. They were preparing for the festival of the morrow; for no one can enter the valley of Sheikh Adi on this occasion without having first purified his body and his clothes. They took no notice of me; and, although divested of all their garments, walked about unconcernedly. The men had been washing during the day in another part of the rivulet.

At dawn Hussein Bey issued from his harem, armed and dressed in his gayest robes, ready to proceed to the tomb of the saint. The principal people of the village were soon collected, and we all started together, forming a long procession, preceded by musicians with the tambourine and pipe. The women were busily employed in loading their donkeys with carpets and domestic utensils. They were to follow leisurely. Hussein Bey and I rode together, and as long as the ground permitted, the horsemen and foot-

men who accompanied us, engaged in mimic fight, discharging their fire-arms into the air, and singing their war-cry. We soon reached the foot of a very precipitous ascent, up which ran a steep and difficult pathway. The horsemen now rode on in single file, and we were frequently compelled to dismount and drag our horses over the rocks. We gained the summit of the pass in about an hour, and looked down into the richly wooded valley of Sheikh Adi. As soon as the white spire of the tomb appeared above the trees, all our party discharged their guns. The echoes had scarcely died away, when our signal was answered by similar discharges from below. As we descended through the thick wood of oaks, we passed many pilgrims on their way, like ourselves, to the tomb; the women seated under the trees, relieving themselves awhile from their infant burdens; the men re-adjusting the loads which the rapid descent had displaced. As each new body of travellers caught sight of the object of their journey, they fired their guns, and shouted the cry of the tribe to those below.

At some distance from the tomb we were met by Sheikh Nasr and a crowd of priests and armed men. The Sheikh was dressed in the purest white linen, as were the principal members of the priesthood. His age could scarcely have exceeded forty; his manners were most mild and pleasing; he welcomed me with warmth; and it was evident that my visit had made a very favourable impression upon all present. After I had embraced the chief, and exchanged salutations with his followers, we walked together towards the

sacred precincts. The outer court, as well as the avenue which led to it, was filled with people; but they made way for us as we approached, and every one eagerly endeavoured to kiss my hand.

The Yezidis always enter the inner court of the tomb barefooted. I followed the custom, and left my shoes at the entrance. I seated myself, with Sheikh Nasr and Hussein Bey, upon carpets spread under an arbour, formed by a wide-spreading vine. The Sheikhs and Cawals, two of the principal orders of the priesthood, alone entered with us, and squatted around the yard against the walls. The trees which grew amongst, and around, the buildings threw an agreeable shade over the whole assembly. I entered into conversation with Sheikh Nasr and the priests, and found them more communicative than I could have expected. I deferred, however, until I could be alone with the chief, such questions as he might be unwilling to answer in the presence of others.

The tomb of Sheikh Adi is in a narrow valley, or rather ravine, which has only one outlet, as the rocks rise precipitously on all sides, except where a small stream forces its way into a larger valley beyond. It stands in a courtyard, and is surrounded by a few buildings, inhabited by the guardians and servants of the sanctuary. The interior is divided into three principal compartments; a large hall partitioned in the centre by a row of columns and arches, and having at the upper end a reservoir filled by an abundant spring issuing from the rock; and two smaller apartments, in which are the tombs of the

saint, and of some inferior personage. The water of the reservoir is regarded with peculiar veneration, and is believed to be derived from the holy well of Zemzem. In it children are baptized, and it is used for other sacred purposes.

The tomb of Sheikh Adi is covered, as is the custom in Mussulman sanctuaries, by a large square case, or box made of clay and plastered; an embroidered green cloth being thrown over it. It is in the inner room, which is dimly lighted up by a small lamp. On it is written the chapter of the Koran, called the Ayat el Courci.

In the principal hall a few lamps are generally burning, and at sun-set lights are placed in niches scattered over the walls.

Two white spires, rising above the building, form a pleasing contrast with the rich foliage by which they are surrounded. They are topped by gilt ornaments, and their sides are fashioned into many angles, causing an agreeable variety of light and shade. On the lintels of the doorway are rudely carved a lion, a snake, a hatchet, a man, and a comb. The snake is particularly conspicuous. Although it might be suspected that these figures were emblematic, I could obtain no other explanation from Sheikh Nasr, than that they had been cut by the Christian mason who repaired the tomb some years ago, as ornaments suggested by his mere fancy. I observed the hatchet and comb carved on many stones in the building, but was assured that they were only marks placed upon them at the request of those who had

furnished money towards the restoration of the building, or had assisted in the work.

In the centre of the inner court, and under the vine, is a square plaster case, in which is a small recess filled with balls of clay taken from the tomb of the saint. These are sold or distributed to the pilgrims, and regarded as very sacred relics — useful against diseases and evil spirits. Certain members of the priesthood and their families alone inhabit the surrounding buildings. They are chosen to watch over the sacred precincts, and are supplied with provisions, and supported by contributions from the tribe.

The outer court is enclosed by low buildings, with recesses, similar to those in an Eastern bazaar. They are intended for the accommodation of pilgrims, and for the stalls of pedlers, during the celebration of the festival. Several gigantic trees throw their shade over the open space, and streams of fresh water are led round the buildings.

Around the tomb, and beneath the trees which grow on the sides of the mountain, are numerous rudely constructed edifices, each belonging to a Yezidi district or tribe. The pilgrims, according to the place from which they come, reside in them during the time of the feast; so that each portion of the valley is known by the name of the country, or tribe, of those who resort there.

I sat till nearly mid-day with the assembly, at the door of the tomb. Sheikh Nasr then rose, and I followed him into the outer court, which was filled by a busy crowd of pilgrims. In the recesses and on the

ground were spread the stores of the travelling merchants, who, on such occasions, repair to the valley. Many-coloured handkerchiefs, and cotton stuffs, hung from the branches of the trees; dried figs from the Sinjar, raisins from Amadiyah, dates from Busrah, and walnuts from the mountains, were displayed in heaps upon the pavement. Around these tempting treasures were gathered groups of boys and young girls. Men and women were engaged on all sides in animated conversation, and the hum of human voices was heard through the valley. All respectfully saluted the Sheikh, and made way for us as we approached. We issued from the precincts of the principal building, and seated ourselves on the edge of a fountain built by the road side, and at the end of the avenue of trees leading into the tomb. The slabs surrounding the basin are to some extent looked upon as sacred; and at this time only Sheikh Nasr, Hussein Bey, and myself, were permitted to place ourselves upon them. Even on other occasions the Yezidis are unwilling to see them polluted by Mussulmans, who usually choose this spot, well adapted for repose, to spread their carpets. The water of the fountain is carefully preserved from impurities, and is drank by those who congregate in the valley. Women were now hastening to and fro with their pitchers, and making merry as they waited their turn to dip them into the reservoir The principal Sheikhs and Cawals sat in a circle round the spring, and listened to the music of pipes and tambourines.

I never beheld a more picturesque or animated

scene. Long lines of pilgrims toiled up the avenue. There was the swarthy inhabitant of the Sinjar, with his long black locks, his piercing eye and regular features, — his white robes floating in the wind, and his unwieldy matchlock thrown over his shoulder. Then followed the more wealthy families of the Kochers,— the wandering tribes who live in tents in the plains, and among the hills of ancient Adiabene; the men in gay jackets and variegated turbans, with fantastic arms in their girdles; the women richly clad in silk antaris; their hair, braided in many tresses, falling down their backs, and adorned with wild flowers; their foreheads almost concealed by gold and silver coins; and huge strings of glass beads, coins, and engraved stones hanging round their necks. Next would appear a poverty-stricken family from a village of the Mosul district; the women clad in white, pale and care-worn, bending under the weight of their children; the men urging on the heavily-laden donkey. Similar groups descended from the hills. Repeated discharges of fire-arms, and a well-known signal, announced to those below the arrival of every new party.

All turned to the fountain before proceeding to their allotted station, and laying their arms on the ground, kissed the hands of Sheikh Nasr, Hussein Bey, and myself. After saluting the assembled priests they continued their way up the sides of the mountains, and chose some wide-spreading oak, or the roof of a building, for a resting-place during their sojourn in the valley. They then spread their carpets, and,

lighting fires with dry branches and twigs, busied themselves in preparing their food. Such groups were scattered in every direction. There was scarcely a tree without its colony.

All, before entering the sacred valley, washed themselves and their clothes in the stream issuing from it. They came thus purified to the feast. I never before saw so much assembled cleanliness in the East. Their garments, generally white, were spotless.

During the afternoon, dances were performed before the Bey and myself. They resembled the Arab Debke and the Kurdish Tchopee. As many young men as could crowd into the small open space in front of the fountain joined in them. Others sang in chorus with the music. Every place, from which a sight could be obtained of the dancers, was occupied by curious spectators. Even the branches above our heads were bending under the clusters of boys who had discovered that, from them, they could get a full view of what was going on below. The manœuvres of one of these urchins gave rise to a somewhat amusing incident, which illustrates the singular superstitions of this sect. He had forced himself to the very end of a weak bough, which was immediately above me, and threatened every moment to break under the weight. As I looked up I saw the impending danger, and made an effort, by an appeal to the Chief, to avert it. "If that young Sheit——" I exclaimed, about to use an epithet, generally given in the East to such adventurous

youths *; I checked myself immediately; but it was already too late; half the dreaded word had escaped. The effect was instantaneous; a look of horror seized those who were near enough to overhear me; it was quickly communicated to those beyond. The pleasant smile, which usually played upon the fine features of the young Bey, gave way to a serious and angry expression. I lamented that I had thus unwillingly wounded the feelings of my hosts, and was at a loss to know how I could make atonement for my indiscretion — doubting whether an apology to the Evil principle or to the chief was expected. I endeavoured, however, to make them understand, without venturing upon any observations which might have brought me into greater difficulties, that I regretted what had passed; but it was some time ere the group resumed their composure, and indulged in their previous merriment.

My carpets had been spread on the roof of a building of some size, belonging to the people of Semil. Around me, but at a convenient distance, were scattered groups of pilgrims from that district. Men, women, and children were congregated round their cauldrons, preparing for their evening meal; or were stretched upon their coarse carpets, resting after the long march of the day. Near me was the chief, whose mud castle crowns the mound of the village of Semil. He was an ill-looking man, gaily dressed, and well armed. He received me with every demonstra-

* The term Sheitan (equivalent to Satan) is usually applied in the East to a clever, cunning, or daring fellow.

tion of civility, and I sat for some time with him and his wives; one of whom was young and pretty, and had been recently selected from the Kochers, or wanderers. Her hair was profusely adorned with flowers and gold coins. They had sacrificed a sheep, and all (including the chief, whose arms, bare to the shoulder, were reeking with blood) gathered round the carcase; and, tearing the limbs, distributed morsels to the poor who had been collected to receive them.

At some distance from the people of Semil, were the wife and family of Sheikh Nasr, who had also slain a sheep. The Sheikh himself resided in the sacred building, and was occupied during the day in receiving the pilgrims, and performing various duties imposed upon him on the occasion. I visited his harem; his wife spread fruit and honey before me, and entertained me with a long account of her domestic employments.

Below the cluster of buildings assigned to the people of Semil is a small white spire, springing from a low edifice, neatly constructed, and, like all the sacred edifices of the Yezidi, kept as pure as repeated coats of whitewash can make it. It is called the sanctuary of Sheikh Shems, or the Sun; and is so built, that the first rays of that luminary should as frequently as possible fall upon it. Near the door is carved on a slab an invocation to Sheikh Shems; and one or two votive tablets, raised by the father of Hussein Bey, and other chiefs of the Yezidi, are built in the walls. The interior, which is a very holy place, is lighted up by a few small lamps. At sunset,

as I sat in the alcove in front of the entrance, a herdsman led into a pen, attached to the building, a drove of white oxen. I asked a Cawal, who was near me, to whom the beasts belonged. "They are dedicated," he said, "to Sheikh Shems, and are never slain except on great festivals, when their flesh is distributed amongst the poor." * This unexpected answer gave rise to an agreeable musing; and I sat almost unconscious of the scene around me, until darkness stole over the valley.

As the twilight faded, the Fakirs, or lower order of priests, dressed in brown garments of coarse cloth, closely fitting to their bodies, and wearing black turbans on their heads, issued from the tomb, each bearing a light in one hand, and a pot of oil, with a bundle of cotton wicks, in the other. They filled and trimmed lamps placed in niches in the walls of the court-yard, and scattered over the buildings on the sides of the valley, and even on isolated rocks and in the hollow trunks of trees. Innumerable stars appeared to glitter on the black sides of the mountain, and in the dark recesses of the forest. As the priests made their way through the crowd, to perform their task, men and women passed their right hands through the flame; and, after rubbing the right eyebrow with the part which had been purified by the sacred element, they devoutly carried it to their lips. Some, who bore children in their arms, anointed them in like manner,

* The dedication of the bull to the sun, so generally recognised in the religious systems of the ancients, probably originated in Assyria, and the Yezidis may have unconsciously preserved a myth of their ancestors.

whilst others held out their hands to be touched by those who, less fortunate than themselves, could not reach the flame.

The lamps are votive offerings from pilgrims, or from those who have appealed to Sheikh Adi in times of danger or disease. A yearly sum is given to the guardians of the tomb for oil, and for the support of the priests who tend the lamps. They are lighted every evening as long as the supplies last. In the day time the smoked walls mark the places where they are placed; and I have observed the Yezidis devoutly kissing the blackened stones. A traveller *, who had merely seen these traces, has suggested that bitumen or naphtha was burnt in the valley during religious ceremonies; but both are considered somewhat impure, and the oil of Sesame and other vegetable substances are alone used.

About an hour after sunset the Fakirs, who are the servants of the tomb, appeared with platters of boiled rice, roast meat, and fruit. They had been sent to me from the kitchen of the holy edifice. The wife of Sheikh Nasr also contributed some dishes towards the repast.

As night advanced, those who had assembled — they must now have amounted to nearly five thousand persons — lighted torches, which they carried with them as they wandered through the forest. The effect was magical; the varied groups could be faintly distinguished through the darkness; men hurrying to and fro; women, with their children, seated on the

* Ainsworth, "Travels in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, &c." vol. ii. p. 185.

house-tops; and crowds gathering round the pedlers who exposed their wares for sale in the court-yard. Thousands of lights were reflected in the fountains and streams, glimmered amongst the foliage of the trees, and danced in the distance. As I was gazing on this extraordinary scene, the hum of human voices was suddenly hushed, and a strain, solemn and melancholy, arose from the valley. It resembled some majestic chant which years before I had listened to in the cathedral of a distant land. Music so pathetic and so sweet I had never before heard in the East. The voices of men and women were blended in harmony with the soft notes of many flutes. At measured intervals the song was broken by the loud clash of cymbals and tambourines; and those who were without the precincts of the tomb then joined in the melody.

I hastened to the sanctuary, and found Sheikh Nasr, surrounded by the priests, seated in the inner court. The place was lighted up by torches and lamps, which threw a soft light over the white walls of the tomb and green foliage of the arbour. The Sheikhs, in their white turbans and robes, all venerable men with long grey beards, were ranged on one side; on the opposite, seated on the stones, were about thirty Cawals in their motley dresses of black and white — each performing on a tambourine or a flute. Around stood the Fakirs in their dark garments; and the women of the orders of the priesthood also arrayed in pure white. No others were admitted within the walls of the court.

The same slow and solemn strain, occasionally varied in the melody, lasted for nearly an hour; a part of it was called "Makam Azerat Esau," or the song of the Angel Jesus. It was sung by the Sheikhs, the Cawals, and the women; and occasionally by those without. I could not catch the words; nor could I prevail upon any of those present to repeat them to me. They were in Arabic; and, as few of the Yezidis can speak or pronounce that language, they were not intelligible, even to the experienced ear of Hodja Toma, who accompanied me. The tambourines, which were struck simultaneously, only interrupted at intervals the song of the priests. As the time quickened, they broke in more frequently. The chant gradually gave way to a lively melody, which, increasing in measure, was finally lost in a confusion of sounds. The tambourines were beaten with extraordinary energy; the flutes poured forth a rapid flood of notes; the voices were raised to their highest pitch; the men outside joined in the cry; whilst the women made the rocks resound with the shrill *tahlehl.* The musicians, giving way to the excitement, threw their instruments into the air, and strained their limbs into every contortion, until they fell exhausted to the ground. I never heard a more frightful yell than that which rose in the valley. It was midnight. The time and place were well suited to the occasion; and I gazed with wonder upon the extraordinary scene around me. Thus were probably celebrated ages ago the mysterious rites of the Corybantes, when they met in some consecrated

grove.* I did not marvel that such wild ceremonies had given rise to those stories of unhallowed rites, and obscene mysteries, which have rendered the name of Yezidi an abomination in the East. Notwithstanding the uncontrollable excitement which appeared to prevail amongst all present, there were no indecent gestures or unseemly ceremonies. When the musicians and singers were exhausted, the noise suddenly died away; the various groups resumed their previous cheerfulness, and again wandered through the valley, or seated themselves under the trees.

So far from Sheikh Adi being the scene of the orgies attributed to the Yezidis, the whole valley is held sacred; and no acts, such as the Jewish law has declared to be impure, are permitted within the sacred precincts. No other than the high priest and the chiefs of the sect are buried near the tomb. Many pilgrims take off their shoes on approaching it, and go barefooted as long as they remain in its vicinity.

Some ceremony took place before I joined the assembly at the tomb, at which no stranger can be present, nor could I learn its nature from the Cawals. Sheikh Nasr gave me to understand that their holy symbol, the Melek Taous, was then exhibited to the

* "Tympana tenta tonant palmis, et cymbala circum
Concava, raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu,
Et Phrygio stimulat numero cava tibia menteis,
Telaque præportant violenti signa furoris,
Ingratos animos, atque impia pectora volgi
Conterrere metu quæ possint numine Divæ."
(Lucret. lib. ii. v. 618, &c.)

priests, and he declared that as far as he was concerned he had no objection to my witnessing the whole of their rites; but that many of the Sheikhs were averse to it, and he did not wish to create any ill feeling in the tribe. Indeed I found him frank and communicative on all subjects.

After the ceremonies in the inner yard had ceased, I returned with the Sheikh and Hussein Bey to the fountain in the avenue. Around it were grouped men and women with torches, which flung their red gleams upon the water. Several of the Cawals accompanied us to the spot, and sang and played on their flutes and tambourines until nearly dawn.

Daylight had begun to appear before the pilgrims sought repose. Silence reigned through the valley until mid-day, when new parties of travellers reached the tomb, and again awakened the echoes by their cries and the discharge of fire-arms. Towards the evening about seven thousand persons must have assembled. The festival was more numerously attended than it had been for many years, and Sheikh Nasr rejoiced in the prospect of times of prosperity for his people. At night the ceremonies of the previous evening were repeated. New melodies were introduced; but the singing ended in the same rapid measure and violent excitement that I have described. During the three days I remained at Sheikh Adi, I wandered over the valley and surrounding mountains; visiting the various groups of pilgrims, talking with them of their dwelling-places, and listening to their tales of oppression and bloodshed. From all I received the

same simple courtesy and kindness; nor had I any cause to change the good opinion I had already formed of the Yezidis. There were no Mohammedans present, nor any Christians, except those who were with me, and a poor woman who had lived long with the sect, and was a privileged guest at their festivals. Unrestrained by the presence of strangers, the women forgot their usual timidity, and roved unveiled over the mountains. As I sat beneath the trees, laughing girls gathered round me, examined my dress, or asked me of things to them strange and new. Some, more bold than the rest, would bring me the strings of beads and engraved stones hanging round their necks, and permit me to examine the Assyrian relics thus collected together; whilst others, more fearful, though not ignorant of the impression which their charms would create, stood at a distance, and weaved wild flowers into their hair.

The men assembled in groups round the fountains and about the tomb. They talked and made merry; but no dissension or angry words disturbed the general good humour. The sound of music, and of song, rose from all sides above the hum of voices. The priests and sheikhs walked amongst the people, or sat with the families assembled under nearly every tree.

Sheikh Nasr frequently visited me, and I had opportunities of talking to him alone on the singular tenets of his sect. From these conversations, and from such observations as I was able to make during my visit at Sheikh Adi, I noted down the following particulars. Although, it must be confessed, far from

sufficient to satisfy curiosity, and in many respects incomplete, they are the best I could obtain from persons naturally suspicious of strangers, and fearful of betraying the secrets of their faith. They give, however, a better insight into the origin and belief of the Yezidis, than any information before obtained by travellers.

The Yezidis recognise one Supreme Being; but, as far as I could learn, they do not offer up any direct prayer or sacrifice to Him. Sheikh Nasr endeavoured to evade my questions on this subject; and appeared to shun, with superstitious awe, every topic connected with the existence and attributes of the Deity. The common Mohammedan forms of expression — half oath, half ejaculation — are nevertheless frequently in the mouths of the people, but probably from mere habit. The name of the Evil spirit is, however, never mentioned; and any allusion to it by others so vexes and irritates them, that it is said they have put to death persons who have wantonly outraged their feelings by its use. So far is their dread of offending the Evil principle carried, that they carefully avoid every expression which may resemble in sound the name of Satan, or the Arabic word for "accursed." Thus, in speaking of a river, they will not say *Shat*, because it is too nearly connected with the first syllable in *Sheitan*, the Devil; but substitute *Nahr*. Nor, for the same reason, will they utter the word *Keitan*, thread or fringe. *Naal*, a horse-shoe, and *naal-band*, a farrier, are forbidden words; because they approach to *laan*, a curse, and *māloun*, accursed.

When they speak of the Devil, they do so with reverence, as *Melek Taous*, King Peacock, or *Melek el Kout*, the mighty angel. Sheikh Nasr distinctly admitted that they possessed a bronze or copper figure of a bird, which, however, he was careful in explaining was only looked upon as a symbol, and not as an idol. It always remains with the great Sheikh, and is carried with him wherever he may journey. When deputies are sent to any distance to collect money for the support of the tomb and the priests, they are furnished with a small image of it (I understood the Sheikh to say made in wax), which is shown to those amongst whom they go, as an authority for their mission. This symbol is called the Melek Taous, and is held in great reverence. Much doubt has prevailed amongst travellers as to its existence; but Sheikh Nasr, when I had an opportunity of speaking to him in private, so frankly admitted it, that I consider the question as completely set at rest. The admission of the Sheikh is moreover confirmed, by the answer of the guardian of the tomb, to a question which I put to him on my first visit, when he was completely off his guard.

They believe Satan to be the chief of the Angelic host, now suffering punishment for his rebellion against the divine will; but still all-powerful, and to be restored hereafter to his high estate in the celestial hierarchy. He must be conciliated and reverenced, they say; for as he now has the means of doing evil to mankind, so will he hereafter have the power of

rewarding them. Next to Satan, but inferior to him in might and wisdom, are seven arch-angels* who exercise a great influence over the world ;—they are Gabrail, Michail, Raphail, Azrail, Dedrail, Azrapheel, and Shemkeel. Christ, according to them, was also a great angel, who had taken the form of man. He did not die on the cross, but ascended to heaven.

They hold the Old Testament in great reverence, and believe in the cosmogony of Genesis, the Deluge, and other events recorded in the Bible. They do not reject the New Testament, nor the Koran; but consider them less entitled to their veneration. Still they always select passages from the latter for their tombs, and holy places. Mohammed they look upon as a prophet; as they do Abraham, and the patriarchs.

They expect the second coming of Christ, as well as the re-appearance of Imaum Mehdi, giving credence to the Mussulman fables relating to him.

Sheikh Adi is their great saint; but I could not learn any particulars relating to him; indeed the epoch of his existence seemed doubtful; and on one occasion Sheikh Nasr asserted that he lived before Mohammed. According to the author of the Jehan-

* It will be remembered that in the book of Tobit (ch. xii. v. 15.) Raphael is made to say: "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One." "The seven spirits before the throne of God," are mentioned in Revelations, ch. i. v. 4; ch. iv. v. 5. This number seven, in the hierarchy of the Celestial Host, and in many sacred things, appears to have been connected with Chaldæan traditions, and celestial observations.

Nameh * he was one of the Merwanian Caliphs. They have some foolish traditions connected with him, chiefly relating to his interviews with celestial personages; and to a feat he performed in bringing the springs, now rising in the valley in which his tomb stands, from the well of Zemzem at Mecca.

As to the origin of their name, it is well known that the Mussulmans trace it to the celebrated Ommiade Caliph, Yezid, who figures as the persecutor of the family of Ali in their own religious history; but there is reason to believe that it must be sought for elsewhere, as it was used long before the introduction of Mohammedanism, and is not without connection with the early Persian appellation of the Supreme Being.† It is difficult to trace their ceremonies to any particular source. They baptize in water, like the Christians; if possible, within seven days after birth. They circumcise at the same age, and in the same manner as the Mohammedans; and reverence the sun, and have many customs in common with the Sabæans. All these ceremonies and observances may indeed have had a common origin, or may have been grafted at different times on their original creed. They may have adopted circumcision to avoid detection by their

* The late lamented Dr. Grant has suggested that the Sheikh Adi of the Yezidis may be Adde, a disciple of Manes. I cannot, however, trace the Hebrew descent, which that gentleman could discover in them as well as in almost every other sect in Assyria.

† Theophanes (Chronographia, p. 492. ed. Bon,) mentions a settlement of Iesdem, on the lesser Zab, near which the Emperor Heracleus encamped, — *καὶ ἡπλίκευσεν εἰς τούς οἴκους τοῦ Ἰεσδέμ*. They may have been Yezidis, and of the ancestors of the present sect. Major Rawlinson has already pointed out the name as occurring in Adiabene.

Mussulman oppressors; and may have selected passages from the Koran, to carve upon their tombs and sacred places; because, as suggested to me by Sheikh Nasr, they corresponded with their opinions, and were best suited to a country in which Arabic was the spoken language. They have more in common with the Sabæans than with any other sect. I have already alluded to their reverence for the sun, and have described the temple and the oxen dedicated to that luminary.* They are accustomed to kiss the object on which its first beams fall; and I have frequently, when travelling in their company at sunrise, observed them perform this ceremony. For fire, as symbolic, they have nearly the same reverence; they never spit into it, but frequently pass their hands through the flame, kiss them, and rub them over their right eyebrow, or sometimes over the whole face.† The colour blue, to them, as to the Sabæans, is an abomination; and never to be worn in dress, or to be used in their houses. Their Kubleh, or the place to which they look whilst performing their holy ceremonies, is that part of the heavens in which the sun rises, and towards it they turn the faces of their dead.‡ In their fondness for white linen, in

* I must observe that although the inscriptions, in the sanctuary described, were all addressed to Sheikh Shems, and that both Sheikh Nasr and the Cawals assured me that it was dedicated to the sun, it is just possible that, under the title of Sheikh Shems, some other object than the sun or some particular person is designated, and that my informants were unwilling to enter into any explanation.

† Some travellers have asserted that they will not blow out a candle; but such is not the case; nor is it an insult to spit in their presence.

‡ All Eastern sects appear to have had some Kubleh, or holy point, to

their cleanliness of habits, and in their frequent ablutions, they also resemble the Sabæans.

The lettuce, and I believe the bamiyah *, and some other vegetables, are never eaten by them. Pork is unlawful; but not wine, which is drunk by all. Although they assert that meat should not be eaten, unless the animal has been slain according to the Mosaic and Mohammedan law, they do not object to partake of the food of Christians.

I could not learn that there were any religious observances on marriage; nor are the number of wives limited. I was informed by the Cawals that the men and women merely presented themselves to a Sheikh, who ascertains that there is mutual consent. A ring is then given to the bride, or sometimes money instead. A day is fixed for rejoicings. They drink sherbet, and dance, but have no religious ceremonies.

Their year begins with that of the Eastern Christians, whom they follow also in the order and names of their months. Some fast three days at the commencement of the year; but this is not considered necessary. They do not observe the Mohammedan Ramazan. Wednesday is their holiday, and although some always fast on that day, yet they do not abstain from work on it, as the Christians do on the Sabbath.

which the face was to be turned during prayer. The Jews, it will be remembered, looked towards Jerusalem. The Sabæans, according to some, to the north star, or, according to others, towards that part of the heavens in which the sun rises. The early Christians chose the East; Mohammed, who recognised the general custom, and found it necessary to adhere to it, appointed the holy Kaaba of Mecca to be the Kubleh of his disciples.

* Hibiscus Esculentus.

Sheikh Nasr informed me that they had a date of their own, and that he believed we were then, according to their account, in the year 1550. This suggested some connection with Manes; but neither by direct, nor indirect questions could I ascertain that they were acquainted with the name, or recognised him in anywise as the originator of their peculiar doctrines with regard to the Evil principle.

Their names, both male and female, are generally those used by Mohammedans and Christians, or such as are common amongst the Kurds, and not strictly of Mussulman origin. The name of *Goorgis* (George) is, however, objectionable; and is never, I believe, given to a Yezidi.

They have four orders of priesthood, the Pirs, the Sheikhs, the Cawals, and the Fakirs; and what is very remarkable, and, I believe, unexampled in the East, these offices are hereditary, and descend to females, who, when enjoying them, are treated with the same respect and consideration as the men.

The *Pirs* *, or Saints, are most reverenced after the great Sheikh, or religious head of the sect. They are believed to have the power, not only of interceding for the people, but of curing disease and insanity. They are expected to lead a life of great sanctity and honesty; and are looked up to with great reverence. They are not confined, I believe, to any particular fashion of dress. The only Pir I knew was one Sino, who was recognised as the deputy of

* This is a Kurdish (Persian) title, — it means, literally, an old man.

Sheikh Nasr, and had suffered imprisonment in his stead.

The *Sheikhs* are next in rank. They are acquainted with the hymns, and are expected to know something of Arabic, the language in which the hymns are written. Their dress should be entirely white, except the skull-cap beneath their turbans, which is black. As servants of Sheikh Adi, they are the guardians of his tomb, keep up the holy fires, and bring provisions and fuel to those who dwell within its precincts, and to pilgrims of distinction. They always wear round their bodies a band of red and yellow, or red and orange plaid, as the mark of their office; and with it they bind together the wood, and other supplies which they bring to the sacred edifice. The women carry the same badge, and are employed in the same services. There are always several Sheikhs residing in the valley of Sheikh Adi. They watch over the tomb, and receive pilgrims; taking charge in rotation of the offerings that may be brought, or selling the clay balls and other relics.

The *Cawals*, or Preachers, appear to be the most active members of the priesthood. They are sent by Sheikh Nasr on missions, going from village to village as teachers of the doctrines of the sect. They alone are the performers on the flute and tambourine; both instruments being looked upon, to a certain extent, as sacred. I observed that before, and after, using the tambourine they frequently kissed it, and then held it to those near them, to be similarly saluted. They are taught singing at a very early age, and are skilful

musicians. They dance also at festivals. They usually know a little Arabic, but barely more than necessary to get through their chants and hymns. Their robes are generally white, although coloured stuffs are not forbidden. Their turbans, unlike those of the Sheikhs, are black, as are also their skull-caps.

The *Fakirs* are the lowest in the priesthood. They wear coarse dresses of black, or dark brown cloth, or canvass, descending to the knee and fitting tightly to the person; and a black turban, across or over which is tied a red handkerchief. They perform all menial offices connected with the tomb, trim and light the votive lamps, and keep clean the sacred buildings.

Whilst each tribe and district of Yezidis has its own chief, Sheikh Nasr is looked up to as the religious head of the whole sect, and he is treated with great reverence and respect. His office is hereditary; but the Yezidis frequently chose, without reference to priority of claim, the one amongst the descendants of the last Sheikh most qualified, by his knowledge and character, to succeed him. The father of Sheikh Nasr held the office for some years; and no one better suited to it than his son could have been chosen to fill his place.

The language in general use amongst all the Yezidis is a Kurdish dialect, and very few, except the Sheikhs and Cawals, are acquainted with Arabic. The chants and hymns,—the only form of prayer, which as far as I could ascertain, they possess,—are, as I have already observed, in Arabic. They have, I believe, a sacred volume, containing their traditions, their hymns, di-

rections for the performance of their rites, and other matters connected with their religion. It is preserved either at Baazani or Baasheikha, and is regarded with so much superstitious reverence that I failed in every endeavour to obtain a copy, or even to see it. This I much regretted, as its contents would probably throw new light upon the origin and history of this remarkable sect, and would clear up many doubts which still hang over their tenets. It is considered unlawful to know how to read and write. There are only one or two persons amongst the Yezidis who can do either: even Sheikh Nasr is unacquainted with the alphabet. Those who know how to read have only been taught in order that they may preserve the sacred book, and may refer to it for the doctrines and ceremonies of the sect.

The Yezidis have a tradition that they originally came from Busrah, and from the country watered by the lower part of the Euphrates; and that, after their emigration, they first settled in Syria, and subsequently took possession of the Sinjar hill, and the districts they now inhabit in Ḳurdistan. This tradition, with the peculiar nature of their tenets and ceremonies, points to a Sabæan or Chaldæan origin. With the scanty materials which we possess regarding their history, and owing to the ignorance prevailing amongst the people themselves,—for I believe that even the priests, including Sheikh Nasr, have but a very vague idea of what they profess, and of the meaning of their religious forms,—it is difficult to come to any conclusion as to the source of their

peculiar opinions and observances. There is in them a strange mixture of Sabæanism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, with a tincture of the doctrines of the Gnostics and Manichæans. Sabæanism, however, appears to be the prevailing feature; and it is not improbable that the sect may be a relic of the ancient Chaldees, who have, at various times, outwardly adopted the forms and tenets of the ruling people, to save themselves from persecution and oppression; and have gradually, through ignorance, confounded them with their own belief and mode of worship. Such has been the case with a no less remarkable sect, the Sabæans, or Mendai (the Christians of St. John, as they are commonly called), who still inhabit the banks of the Euphrates and the districts of ancient Susiana.

The Yezidis are known amongst themselves by the name of the district, or tribe, to which they respectively belong. Those who inhabit the country near the foot of the Kurdish Hills, are called Dasni or Daseni, most probably from the ancient name of a province.* Tribes of Yezidis are found in the north of Syria, in Northern Kurdistan, in Bohtan, Sheikhan, and Missouri. In the plains, their principal settlements are in the villages of Baazani, Baasheikha, and Semil.

Having spent three days at Sheikh Adi, and having witnessed all the ceremonies at which a stranger could be present, I prepared to return to Mosul. Sheikh Nasr, Hussein Bey, and the principal Sheikhs and Cawals, insisted upon accompanying me about

* There is still a tribe of Kurds of this name, living in the mountains near Suleimaniyah.

three miles down the valley; as I preferred this road to the precipitous pathway over the mountains. After parting with me, the chiefs returned to the tomb to finish their festival, and I made my way to the village of Ain Sifni. Before leaving me, Sheikh Nasr placed in my hands a letter, written by his secretary, to the inhabitants of the Sinjar. I had acquainted him with my intention of visiting that district in company with the Pasha, and he promised to send a Cawal to secure me the most friendly reception in the villages. The priest was to wait for the conclusion of the feast, and then to join me in Mosul. The document is sufficiently curious and new, as coming from the Yezidi Sheikh, to deserve a translation. It was couched in the following terms:—

"Peace be always to our most honoured and excellent friends, the inhabitants of Bukrah; to Esau (Jesus) Osso, and to Ghurah, and to Hassan the Fakeer, and to all those who are of the village, old and young.

"Peace be also to the inhabitants of Mirkan, to Ali, to Khalto, to Daoud the son of Afdul, and to all the dwellers in the village, old and young.

"Peace be also to the inhabitants of Osafah, to Kolow, and to Sheikh Ali, and to all, old and young.

"Peace be also to the tribe of Deenah, to Murad, and to the old and young.

"Peace be also to the inhabitants of Amrah, to Turkartou, and to Kassim Agha, and to all, old and young.

"Peace be also to the inhabitants of As'-smookeeyah, and Al Keraneeah, old and young.

"Peace be also to Fukrah Rizo, who dwells in Koulkah.

"Peace be also to the inhabitants of the town of Sinjar, old and young.

"Peace be also to the dwellers in the mountain of Sinjar, old and young.

"May God the most High watch over you all. Amen.

"We never forget you in our prayers before Sheikh Adi, the greatest of all Sheikhs, and of all Khasseens *; our thoughts are always with you, and ye are in our mind by day and by night.

"A beloved friend of ours is about to visit you, and we have sent with him our Cawal, Murad, in order that ye may treat him with all kindness and honour. For as ye receive him, so would ye receive me; and if ye do evil unto him, so do ye evil unto me. As ye are the children of obedience, and faithful to Sheikh Adi, the chief of all Sheikhs, disregard not these our commands, and may God the most High watch over you always.

"He who intercedes for you,
"Sheikh Nasr,
"The Elder."

The village of Ain Sifni was almost deserted; the inhabitants having migrated during the festival to the valley of Sheikh Adi. I urged on my horses, and reached Mosul early in the afternoon.

Tahyar Pasha had for some time been planning an

* I am not aware of the exact position of the Khasseens in the hierarchy of the Yezidis, or whether this is a general name for their saints.

expedition into the Sinjar, not with any hostile intention, but for the purpose of examining the state of the country; which had been ruined by the vexatious extortions, and gratuitous cruelty of the late governor of Mosul. He had previously sent an agent to make an inquiry into the condition of the villages; and a deputation of the inhabitants had returned with him to petition for a diminution of taxes, which the destitute state of the district rendered them unable to pay.

The arrangements of his Excellency, after numerous delays, were at length completed by the 8th October, and three o'clock of that day was declared to be the fortunate hour for leaving the town. The principal inhabitants, with the Cadi and Mufti at their head, were collected in the large square opposite the palace and without the walls, ready to accompany the Pasha, as a mark of respect, some distance from the gates. It was with difficulty that I made my way to the apartments of the governor, through the crowd of irregular troops, and servants, which thronged the courtyard of the Serai. Above, there was no less confusion than below. The attendants of his Excellency were hurrying to and fro, laden with every variety of utensil and instrument; some carrying gigantic telescopes, or huge bowls, in leather cases; others labouring under bundles of pipe-sticks, or bending under the weight of calico bags crammed with state documents. The grey-headed Kiayah had inserted his feet into a pair of capacious boots, leaving room enough for almost any number of intruders. Round his fez, and

the lower part of his face, were wound endless folds of white linen, which gave him the appearance of a patient emerging from a hospital; and he carried furs and cloaks enough to keep out the cold of the frigid zone. The Divan Effendesi, although a man of the pen, strutted about with sword and spurs, followed by clerks and ink-stand bearers. At the door of the harem waited a bevy of Aghas; amongst them the lord of the towel, the lord of the washing-basin, the lord of the cloak, the chief of the coffee-makers, and the chief of the pipe-bearers, the treasurer, and the seal-bearer.* At length the Pasha himself appeared; the Cawasses forced the crowd out of the way, and as his Excellency placed his foot in the stirrup, the trumpets sounded as a signal for the procession to move onwards. First came a regiment of infantry, followed by a company of artillery-men with their guns. The trumpeters, and the Pasha's own standard, a mass of green silk drapery, embroidered in gold, with verses from the Koran, succeeded; behind were six led Arab horses, richly caparisoned with coloured saddle-cloths, glittering with gold embroidery. The Pasha himself then appeared, surrounded by the chiefs of the town and the officers of his household. The procession was finished by the irregular cavalry, divided into companies, each headed by its respective commander, and the wild Suiters with their small kettle-drums fastened in front of their saddles.

I was accompanied by my Cawass and my own servants, and rode as it best suited, and amused me, in

* These are all offices in the household of a Turkish Pasha.

different parts of the procession. We reached Hamaydat, a ruined village on the banks of the Tigris, three caravan hours from Mosul, about sun-set. Here we had the first proofs of the commissariat arrangements; for there was neither food for ourselves nor the horses, and we all went supperless to bed.

On the following day, after a ride of six hours through a barren and uninhabited plain, bounded to the east and west by ranges of low limestone hills, we reached a ruined village, built on the summit of an ancient artificial mound, and called Abou Maria. The Aneyza Arabs were known to be out on this side of the Euphrates, and during our march we observed several of their scouts watching our movements. The irregular cavalry frequently rushed off in pursuit; but the horsemen, turning their fleet mares towards the desert, were soon lost in the distance.

We passed the ruins of three villages. The plain, once thickly inhabited, is now deserted; and the wells, formerly abundant, are filled up. In spring, the Arab tribe of Jehesh frequently encamp near the pools of water supplied by the rains. The remains of buildings, and the traces of former cultivation, prove that at some period, not very remote, others than the roving Bedouins dwelt on these lands; whilst the artificial mounds, scattered over the face of the country, show that long ere the Mussulman invasion, this was one of the flourishing districts of ancient Assyria.

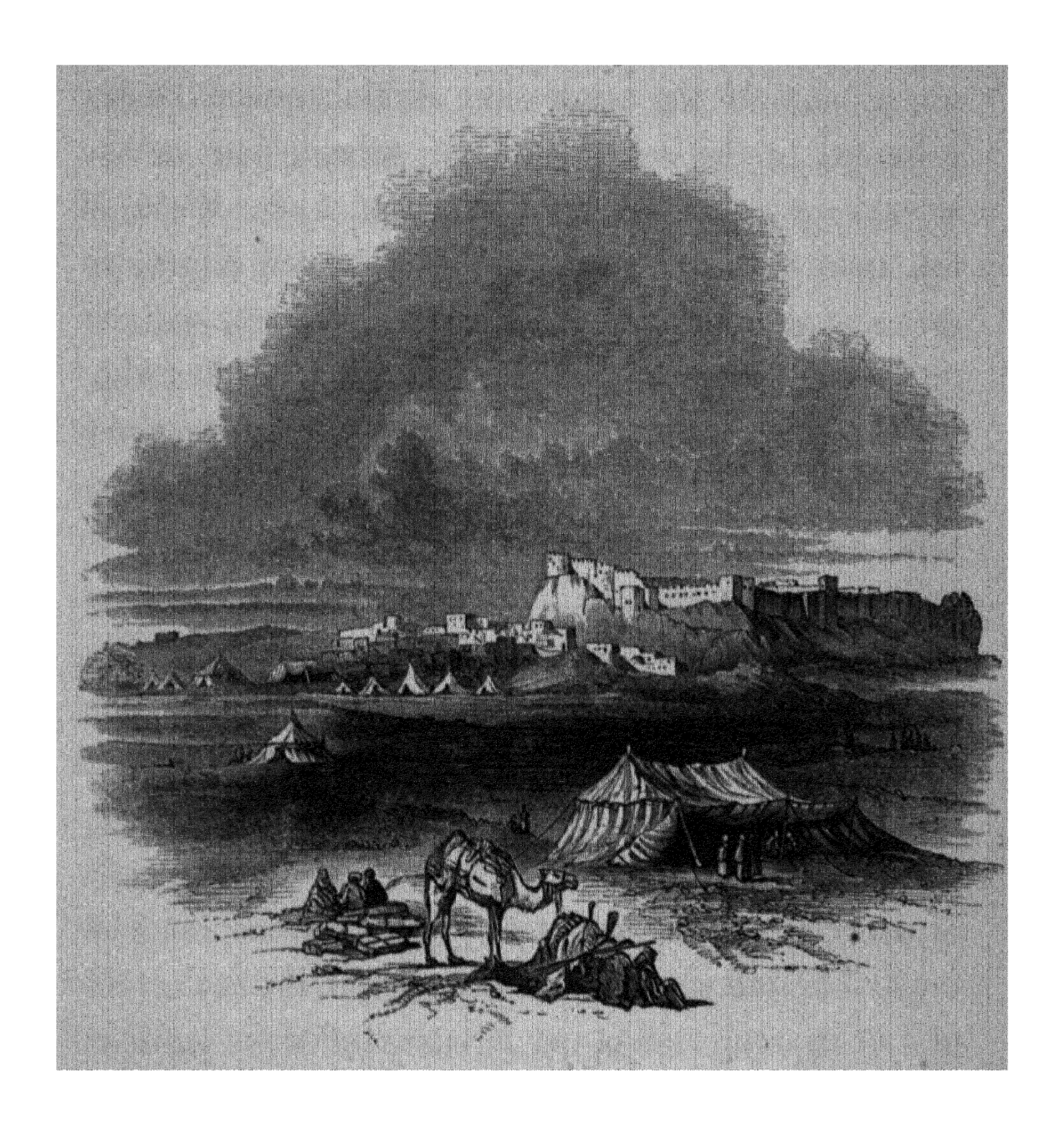
A most abundant spring issues from the foot of the mound of Abou Maria. The water is collected in large, well-built reservoirs. Near them is a mill,

now in ruins, but formerly turned by the stream, within a few yards of its source. Such an ample supply of water, although brackish to the taste, must always have attracted a population in a country where it is scarce. The village, which was deserted, on account of the oppression of Mohammed Pasha, belonged to the Jehesh. Three miles below, on the stream derived from the springs of Abou Maria, is the mud fort and small hamlet of Kessi Kupri, so named from the ruins of a bridge. A party of irregular cavalry, under my old friend Daoud Agha (who, by the way, brought me a load of water-melons and Sinjar figs to celebrate my visit), were then stationed there.

Three hours' ride, still over the desert, brought us to Tel Afer, which we reached suddenly on emerging from a range of low hills. The place had a much more important and flourishing appearance than I could have expected. A very considerable eminence, partly artificial, is crowned by a castle, whose walls are flanked by numerous towers of various shapes. The town, containing some well-built houses, lies at the foot of the mound, and is partly surrounded by gardens well wooded with the olive, fig, and other fruit trees; beyond this cultivated plot is the broad expanse of the desert. A spring, as abundant as that of Abou Maria, gushes out of a rock beneath the castle, supplies the inhabitants with water, irrigates their gardens, and turns their mills.

Tel Afer was once a town of some importance; it is mentioned by the early Arab geographers, and

To face page 312. Vol. I.



may perhaps be identified with the Telassar of Isaiah, referred to, as it is, in connection with Gozan and Haran.* It has been three times besieged, within a few years, by Ali Pasha of Baghdad, Hafiz Pasha, and Injeh Bairakdar Mohammed Pasha. On each occasion the inhabitants offered a vigorous resistance. Mohammed Pasha took the place by assault. More than two thirds of the inhabitants were put to the sword, and the property of the remainder was confiscated. The houses within the fort were destroyed, and the town was rebuilt at the foot of the mound. A small Turkish garrison now occupies the castle. Previous to its last capture, Tel Afer was almost independent of the Turkish governors of Mesopotamia. It paid a small tribute, but had its own hereditary chief; who, in league with the Bedouins of the desert, and the Yezidis of the Sinjar, enriched his followers by the plunder of caravans, and by foraging expeditions into the cultivated districts of Mosul. Great wealth is said to have been discovered in the place, on its pillage by Mohammed Pasha, who took all the gold and silver, and distributed the remainder of the spoil amongst his soldiers.

The inhabitants of Tel Afer are of Turcoman origin, and speak the Turkish language. They occasionally intermarry, however, with the Arabs, and generally understand Arabic.

Towards evening I ascended the mound, and visited the castle, in which was quartered a small body of

* Isaiah xxxvii. 12. The name does not occur elsewhere in the Bible; and we have consequently no means of determining its locality.

irregular troops. The houses, formerly inhabited by families whose habitations are now built at the foot of the artificial hill, are in ruins, except that occupied by the commander of the garrison. From the walls I had an uninterrupted view over a vast plain, stretching westward towards the Euphrates, and losing itself in the hazy distance. The ruins of ancient towns and villages rose on all sides; and, as the sun went down, I counted above one hundred mounds, throwing their dark and lengthening shadows across the plain. These were the remains of Assyrian civilisation and prosperity. Centuries have elapsed since a settled population dwelt in this district of Mesopotamia. Now, not even the tent of the Bedouin could be seen. The whole was a barren, deserted waste.

We remained two days at Tel Afer. The commissariat was replenished as far as possible from the scanty stores of the inhabitants. The Pasha recommended forbearance and justice; but his advice was not followed; nor were his orders obeyed. The houses were broken into, and a general pillage ensued. At length, on the 10th, we resumed our march.

The mountain of Sinjar is about thirty miles distant from Tel Afer. A very low range of hills diverges from its southern spur, and unites with those behind the town. The Pasha, with his troops, took the road across the plain.

We passed the first night on the banks of a small salt stream, near the ruins of a village, called, by the people of the Sinjar and Tel Afer, Zabardok; and

by the Arabs simply Kharba, or the ruins. We had seen during the day several other ruins and water-courses.* The second day we encamped in the plain, near the southern end of the Sinjar mountain, and under the village of Mirkan, the white houses of which, rising one above the other on the declivity, were visible from below. Here the Pasha was met by all the chiefs of the mountain, except those of the small district in which we had halted.

Mirkan is one of the principal Yezidi settlements in the Sinjar. Its inhabitants had been exposed to great extortions, and many were put to death when Mohammed Pasha visited the mountain. They expected similar treatment at our hands. No promises could remove their fears, and they declared their intention of resolutely defending their village. The Pasha sent up an officer of his household, with a few irregular troops, to re-assure them, and to restore obedience. I accompanied him. As we entered the village we were received by a general discharge of fire-arms. Two horsemen, who had accidentally, — and as I thought at the time somewhat disrespectfully, — pushed forward before the officer and myself, fell dead at our feet, and several of our party were wounded. The Pasha, exasperated at this unprovoked and wanton attack, ordered an advance of the Hytas and Arab irregulars; who, long thirsting for

* All these streams at this time of the year are nearly dry, and lose themselves in the desert; but when replenished by the winter rains they find their way to the Thathar, the small river which flows near the ruins of Al Hather, and ends in a lake to the south of them.

plunder, hastened towards the village. The Yezidis had already deserted it, and had taken refuge in a narrow gorge; abounding in caverns and isolated rocks,—their usual place of refuge on such occasions.

The village was soon occupied; the houses were entered, and plundered of the little property that had been left behind. A few aged women and decrepit old men, too infirm to leave with the rest, and found hiding in the small dark rooms, were murdered, and their heads severed from their bodies. Blazing fires were made in the neat dwellings, and the whole village was delivered to the flames. Even the old Pasha, with his grey hair and tottering step, hurried to and fro amongst the smoking ruins, and helped to add the torch where the fire was not doing its work.

The old Turkish spirit of murder and plunder was roused; the houses were soon burnt to the ground; but the inhabitants were still safe. When the irregulars had secured all the property they could discover, they rushed towards the gorge, scarcely believing that the Yezidis would venture to oppose them. But they were received by a steady and well-directed fire. The foremost fell, almost to a man. The caverns were high up amongst the rocks, and all attempts to reach them completely failed. The contest was carried on till night; when the troops, dispirited and beaten, were called back to their tents.

In the evening the heads of the miserable old men and women, taken in the village, were paraded about the camp; and those who were fortunate enough to possess such trophies wandered from tent to tent,

claiming a present as a reward for their prowess. I appealed to the Pasha, who had been persuaded that every head brought to him was that of a powerful chief, and after some difficulty prevailed upon him to have them buried; but the troops were not willing to obey his orders, and it was late in the night before they were induced to resign their bloody spoil, which they had arranged in grim array, and lighted up with torches.

On the following morning the contest was renewed; but the Yezidis defended themselves with undiminished courage. The first who ventured into the gorge was the commander of a body of irregular troops, one Osman Agha, a native of Lazistan. He advanced boldly at the head of his men. On each side of him was a Suiter, with his small kettle-drums by his side, and the tails of foxes in his cap.* He had scarcely entered the valley, when two shots from the rocks above killed his two supporters. The troops rushed forward, and attempted to reach the caves in which the Yezidis had taken refuge. Again they were beaten back by their unseen enemies. Every shot from the rocks told, whilst the Pasha's troops were unable to discover, but by the thin smoke which marked the discharge of the rifle, the position of those who defended the gorge. The contest lasted during the day, but without results. The loss of the Hytas was very considerable; not a cavern had been

* The Suiters are buffoons who precede the irregular cavalry, play on small kettle-drums, and are fantastically attired. They generally display great daring and courage.

carried; nor a Yezidis, as far as the assailants could tell, killed, or even wounded.

On the following morning the Pasha ordered a fresh attack. To encourage his men he advanced himself into the gorge, and directed his carpet to be spread on a rock. Here he sat, with the greatest apathy, smoking his pipe, and carrying on a frivolous conversation with me, although he was the object of the aim of the Yezidis; several persons within a few feet of us falling dead, and the balls frequently throwing up the dirt into our faces. Coffee was brought to him occasionally as usual, and his pipe was filled when the tobacco was exhausted; yet he was not a soldier, but what is termed "a man of the pen." I have frequently seen similar instances of calm indifference in the midst of danger amongst Turks, when such displays were scarcely called for, and would be very unwillingly made by any European. Notwithstanding the example set by his Excellency, and the encouragement which his presence gave to the troops, they were not more successful in their attempts to dislodge the Yezidis than they had been the day before. One after another, the men were carried out of the ravine, dead or dying. The wounded were brought to the Pasha, who gave them water, money, or words of encouragement. The "Ordou cadesi," or Cadi of the camp, reminded them that it was against the infidels they were fighting; that every one who fell by the enemies of the prophet was rewarded with instant translation to Paradise; whilst those who killed an unbeliever were entitled to the same

inestimable privilege. The dying were comforted, and the combatants animated by the promises and exhortations of the Cadi; who, however, kept himself well out of the way of danger behind a rock. He was a fanatic, the fellow; and his self-satisfied air and comfortable obesity, had created in me very strong feelings of indignation and disgust;—not diminished by the new principles of international law which he propounded, in my presence, to the Pasha. "If I swore an oath to these unbelieving Yezidis," asked his Excellency, "and in consequence thereof, believing their lives to be secure, they should surrender, how far am I bound thereby?" "The Yezidis being Infidels," replied his Reverence, smoothing down his beard, "are in the same category as other unbelievers,"—here his eye turned on me;—"as they do not understand the true nature of God, and of his prophet, they cannot understand the true nature of an oath; consequently it is not binding upon them; and therefore, as there is no reciprocity, it cannot be binding upon you. Not only *could* you put them to the sword, after they had surrendered upon the faith of your oath, but it is your duty as a good Mussulman to do so; for the unbelievers are the enemies of God and his prophet." Here he again honoured me with a particular look. The Pasha, as soon as the expounder of the law had departed, thought it necessary to condemn the atrocious doctrines which I had heard, and to assure me that the Cadi was an ass. This fanatic was half Kurd, half Arab, and was a specimen of the religious

chiefs who dwell in Kurdistan, and in the towns on its borders; and are constantly inciting the Mohammedans against the Christians, and urging them to shed their blood. I need scarcely say that the abominable opinions which they profess, are not shared by any respectable Turk or Mussulman; and will no longer, it is to be hoped,—now that the Porte has established its authority in Kurdistan,—lead to massacres of the Sultan's Christian subjects.

Attempts were made during the day to induce the Yezidis to surrender, and there was some chance of success. However, night drew near, and hostilities still continued. The regular and irregular troops were then posted at all the known places of access to the gorge. The morning came, and the attack was recommenced. No signs of defence issued from the valley. The Hytas rushed in, but were no longer met by the steady fire of the previous day. They paused, fearing some trick or ambuscade; then advanced cautiously, but still unnoticed. They reached the mouths of the caves;—no one opposed them. It was some time, however, before they ventured to look into them. They were empty. The Yezidis had fled during the night, and had left the ravine by some pathway known only to themselves, and which had escaped the watchfulness of the Turkish soldiery. In the caverns were found a few rude figures of men and goats, formed of dried figs fastened upon sticks. These were seized by the victors, and borne in triumph through the camp as the gods of the worshippers of Satan. The Pasha, having fully satisfied himself upon this point,

by a reference to his reverence, the Cadi, directed the idols to be carefully packed, and sent them at once to Constantinople by a special Tatar.

Whilst attempts were being made to discover the retreat of the fugitives, the Turkish camp remained near the village of Mirkan. I took this opportunity of visiting other parts of the Sinjar. The residence of the governor of the district is in the village built amongst the ruins of the old city—the Singara of the ancient geographers, and the "Belled Sinjar" of the Arabs. A small mud fort, raised a few years ago, stands on a hill in the midst of the remains of ancient walls and foundations; but the principal part of the ancient city appears to have occupied the plain below. Around this fort, at the time of my visit, were congregated about two hundred families. The Yezidi inhabitants of the village, unlike those of the other districts, are mixed with Mussulmans. The latter, however, are so lax in their religious observances, and in dress so like the Yezidis, that it is difficult to distinguish them from the unbelievers. I was continually falling into mistakes, and eliciting a very indignant exclamation of "God forbid!"

It would be difficult to point out, with any degree of certainty, ruins at Belled Sinjar more ancient than the Mohammedan conquest. It became a place of some importance in the early ages of Islam, and had its own semi-independent rulers. There are the remains of several fine buildings; and the lower part of a minaret, constructed, like that of the great mosque

of Mosul, of coloured tiles and bricks, is a conspicuous object from all parts of the plain. There are very abundant springs within the circuit of the old walls; the air is declared to be salubrious, and the soil rich and productive.

All the villages of the Sinjar are built upon one plan. The houses rise on the hill-sides, and are surrounded by terraces, formed of rough stones piled one above the other as walls, to confine the scanty earth. These terraces are planted with olive and fig trees; a few vineyards are found near some villages. The houses, which are flat-roofed, are exceedingly clean and neat. They frequently contain several apartments. The walls of the interior are full of small recesses, like pigeon-holes, which are partly ornamental, and partly used to keep the domestic utensils and property of the owner. They give a very singular and original appearance to the room; and the oddity of the effect is considerably increased by masses of red and black paint daubed on the white wall, in patches, by way of ornament.

The principal, and indeed now the only, trade carried on by the inhabitants of the Sinjar, is in dried figs, which are celebrated in this part of Turkey, and supply all the markets in the neighbouring provinces. The soil is fertile, and, as the means of irrigation are abundant, corn and various useful articles of produce might be raised in great plenty from the extensive tracts of arable land surrounding the villages. But the people have been almost ruined by misgovern-

ment; they can now scarcely cultivate corn enough for their own immediate wants.*

The Pasha still lingered at Mirkan; and as I was anxious to return to Mosul, to renew the excavations, I took my leave of him, and rode through the desert to Tel Afer. I was accompanied by a small body of irregular cavalry,—a necessary escort, as the Aneyza Arabs were hanging about the camp, and plundering stragglers and caravans of supplies. As evening approached, we saw, congregated near a small stream, what appeared to be a large company of dismounted Arabs, their horses standing by them. As we were already near them, and could not have escaped the watchful eye of the Bedouin, we prepared for an encounter. I placed the baggage in the centre of my small party, and spread out the horsemen as widely as possible to exaggerate our numbers. We approached cautiously, and were surprised to see that the horses still remained without their riders; we drew still nearer, when they all galloped off towards the desert. They were wild asses. We attempted to follow them. After running a little distance they stopped to gaze at us, and I got sufficiently near to see them well; but as soon as they found that we were in pursuit they hastened their speed, and were soon lost in the distance.†

* Some account of the Sinjar, by the late Dr. Forbes — the only European, besides myself, who has, I believe, visited this singular district — will be found in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.

† The reader will remember that Xenophon mentions these beautiful animals, which he must have seen during his march in these very plains. He faithfully describes the country, and the animals and birds which in-

I reached Mosul in two days, taking the road by Kessi Kupri, and avoiding the desert beyond Abou-Maria, which we had crossed on our march to the Sinjar.

habit it, as they are to this day, except that the ostrich is not now to be found so far north. " The country," says he, " was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood; if any other kinds of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell; but no trees appeared. Of wild creatures, the most numerous were wild asses, and not a few ostriches, besides bustards and roe deer (gazelles), which our horsemen sometimes chased. The asses, when they were pursued, having gained ground of the horses, stood still (for they exceeded them much in speed); and when these came up with them, they did the same thing again; so that our horsemen could take them by no other means but by dividing themselves into relays, and succeeding one another in the chase. The flesh of those that were taken was like that of red deer, but more tender." (Expedition of Cyrus.) In fleetness they equal the gazelle; and to match them is a feat which only one or two of the most celebrated mares have been known to accomplish. The Arabs sometimes catch the foals during the spring, and bring them up with milk in their tents. I endeavoured in vain to obtain a pair. They are of a light fawn colour—almost pink. The Arabs still eat their flesh.

CHAP. X.

EXCAVATIONS ON A LARGE SCALE UNDERTAKEN BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM. — PREPARATIONS. — CHOICE OF WORKMEN. — DWELLING HOUSES BUILT AT NIMROUD. — BAS-RELIEFS DISCOVERED. — DESCRIPTION OF THEM. — DISCOVERY OF ARMOUR AND HELMETS. — OF VASES. — OF NEW CHAMBERS. — OF THE OBELISK. — DESCRIPTION OF THE OBELISK. — DISCOVERIES IN THE SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF THE MOUND. — WINGED LIONS. — CROUCHING SPHINXES. — DISCOVERY OF TOMBS IN THE SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF THE MOUND. — ARAB WORKMEN. — MODE OF IRRIGATION. — CUSTOMS OF THE ARABS. — FACILITY OF DIVORCE. — ARAB REVENGE. — ARAB WOMEN. — THE WORKMEN. — THE TIYARI OR CHALDÆANS. — THEIR WOMEN. — A RAFT PLUNDERED. — SEIZURE OF AN ARAB SHEIKH. — ARAB EXCITEMENT. — DEPARTURE OF SCULPTURES FOR BUSRAH.

ON my return to Mosul, I received letters from England, informing me that Sir Stratford Canning had presented the sculptures discovered in Assyria, and had made over all advantages that might be derived from the order given to him by the Sultan, to the British nation; and that the British Museum had received a grant of funds for the continuation of the researches commenced at Nimroud, and elsewhere. The grant was small, and scarcely adequate to the objects in view. There were many difficulties to contend with, and I was doubtful whether, with the means placed at my disposal, I should be able to fulfil the expectations which appeared to have been formed, as to the results of the undertaking. The sum given to M. Botta for the excavations at Khors-

abad alone, greatly exceeded the whole grant to the Museum, which was to include private expenses, those of carriage, and many extraordinary outlays inevitable in the East, when works of this nature are to be carried on. I determined, however, to accept the charge of superintending the excavations, to make every exertion, and to economise as far as it was in my power — that the nation might possess as extensive and complete a collection of Assyrian antiquities as, considering the smallness of the means, it was possible to collect. I had neither knowledge nor experience as a draughtsman; and this I felt to be a great drawback, indeed a disqualification, which I could scarcely hope to overcome. Many of the sculptures, and monuments discovered, were in too dilapidated a condition to be removed, and others threatened to fall to pieces as soon as uncovered. It was only by drawings that the record of them could be preserved. There was no inclination to send an artist to assist me, and I made up my mind to do the best I could; to copy as carefully and accurately as possible, that which I saw before me. I had therefore to superintend the excavations; to draw all the bas-reliefs discovered; to copy and compare the innumerable inscriptions; to take casts of them*; and to preside over the moving and packing of the sculptures. As there was no one whom I could trust to overlook the diggers, I was

* Casts of the inscriptions and of some of the sculptures were taken with brown paper, simply damped and impressed on the slab with a hard brush.

obliged to be continually present, and frequently to remove the earth myself from the face of the slabs — as, through the carelessness and inexperience of the workmen, they were exposed to injury from the blows of the picks. I felt that I was far from qualified to undertake these multifarious occupations. I knew, however, that if persons equal to the task, and sufficiently well acquainted with the various languages of the country to carry on the necessary communications with the authorities, and to hold the requisite intercourse with the inhabitants — Arabs, Kurds, Turks, and Chaldæans — were sent out expressly from England, the whole sum granted would be expended before the excavations could be commenced. The researches would probably be then less extensive, and their results less complete than they would be if, however unqualified, I at once undertook their superintendence. I determined, therefore, to devote the whole of my time to the undertaking, and to make every sacrifice to ensure its success.

It was, in the first place, necessary to organise a band of workmen best fit to carry on the work. The scarcity of corn, resulting from the oppressive measures of Mohammed Pasha, and from the large exportation which had been made to Syria and the sea-coast, had driven the Arab tribes to the neighbourhood of the town, where they sought to gain a livelihood by engaging in labours not very palatable to a Bedouin. I had no difficulty in finding workmen amongst them. There was, at the same time, this advantage in employing these wandering Arabs

— they brought their tents and families with them, and, encamping round the ruins and the village, formed a very efficient guard against their brethren of the Desert, who looked to plunder, rather than to work, to supply their wants. To increase my numbers I chose only one man from each family; and, as his male relations accompanied him, I had the use of their services, as far as regarded the protection of my sculptures. Being well acquainted with the Sheikhs of the Jebour, I chose my workmen chiefly from that tribe. The chiefs promised every protection; and I knew enough of the Arab character not to despair of bringing the men under proper control. The Arabs were selected to remove the earth — they were unable to dig; this part of the labour required stronger and more active men; and I chose for it about fifty Nestorian Chaldæans, who had sought work for the winter in Mosul, and many of whom, having already been employed, had acquired some experience in excavating. They went to Nimroud with their wives and families. I engaged at the same time one Bainan, a Jacobite or Syrian Christian, who was a skilful marble-cutter, and a very intelligent man. I had made also a valuable addition to my establishment in a standard-bearer of the irregular troops, of whose courage I had seen such convincing proofs during the expedition to the Sinjar, that I induced his commander to place him in my service. His name was Mohammed Agha; but he was generally called, from his rank, the "Bairakdar." He was a native of Scio, and had been carried off at the time

of the massacre, when a child, by an irregular, who had brought him up as a Mussulman. In his religious opinions and observances, however, he was as lax, as men of his profession usually are. He served me faithfully and honestly, and was of great use during the excavations. Awad still continued in my employ; my Cawass, Ibrahim Agha, returned with me to Nimroud; and I hired a carpenter and two or three men of Mosul as superintendents.

I was again amongst the ruins by the end of October. The winter season was fast approaching, and it was necessary to build a proper house for the shelter of myself and servants. I marked out a plan on the ground, on the outside of the village of Nimroud, and in a few days the habitations were complete. My workmen formed the walls of mud bricks, dried in the sun, covering in the rooms with beams and branches of trees. A thick coat of mud was laid over the whole, to exclude the rain. I built two rooms for myself, divided by an Iwan, or open apartment, the whole being surrounded by a wall. In a second courtyard were huts for my Cawass, for Arab guests, and for my servants, and stables for my horses. Ibrahim Agha displayed his ingenuity by making equidistant loop-holes, of a most warlike appearance, in the walls; which I immediately ordered to be filled up, to avoid any suspicion of being the constructor of forts and castles, with the intention of making a permanent Frank settlement in the country. We did not neglect precautions, however, in case of an attack from the Bedouins, of whom Ibrahim Agha was in constant

dread. Unfortunately, the only showers of rain that I saw during the remainder of my residence in Assyria, fell before my walls were covered in, and so saturated the bricks that they did not become again dry before the following spring. The consequence was, that the only verdure, on which my eyes were permitted to feast before my return to Europe, was furnished by my own property — the walls in the interior of the rooms being continually clothed with a crop of grass.

On the mound itself, and immediately above the great winged lions first discovered, I built a house for my Nestorian workmen and their families, and a hut, to which I could at once remove for safety any small objects discovered among the ruins. I divided my Arabs into three parties, according to the branches of the tribe to which they belonged. About forty tents were pitched on different parts of the mound, at the entrances to the principal trenches. Forty more were placed round my dwelling, and the rest on the bank of the river, where the sculptures were deposited previous to their embarcation on the rafts. The men were all armed. I thus provided for the defence of all my establishment.

Mr. Hormuzd Rassam lived with me; and to him I confided the payment of the wages, and all the accounts. He soon obtained an extraordinary influence amongst the Arabs, and his fame spread through the desert.

I divided my workmen into parties. In each set were generally eight or ten Arabs, who carried away the earth in baskets; and two, or four, Nestorian

diggers, according to the nature of the soil and rubbish which had to be removed. They were overlooked by a superintendent, whose duty it was to keep them to their work, and to give me notice when the diggers approached any slab, or exposed any small object to view, that I might myself assist in the uncovering or removal. I scattered a few Arabs of a hostile tribe amongst the rest, and by that means I was always made acquainted with what was going on, could easily learn if there were plots brewing, and could detect those who might attempt to appropriate any relics discovered during the excavations. The smallness of the sum placed at my disposal, compelled me to follow the same plan in the excavations that I had hitherto adopted, — viz. to dig trenches along the sides of the chambers, and to expose the whole of the slabs, without removing the earth from the centre. Thus, few of the chambers were fully explored; and many small objects of great interest may have been left undiscovered. As I was directed to bury the building with earth after I had explored it, to avoid unnecessary expense I filled up the chambers with the rubbish taken from those subsequently uncovered, having first examined the walls, copied the inscriptions, and drawn the sculptures.

The excavations were recommenced, on a large scale, by the 1st of November. My working parties were distributed over the mound — in chambers, B, G, and I, of the palace or edifice represented in plan 3; in the centre of the mound near the gigantic bulls * ;

* At *i* and *j*, plan 1.

in the S. E. corner, where as yet no traces of building had been discovered; and at walls *a* and *d* of plan 2. I also opened trenches in parts of the ruins hitherto unexamined.

It will be remembered that in chamber B (plan 3), the slabs from No. 2. to entrance *b*, had fallen with their faces to the ground. I was, in the first place, anxious to raise these bas-reliefs, and to pack them for removal to Busrah. To accomplish this, I had to remove a large accumulation of earth and rubbish — to empty, indeed, almost the whole chamber, for the fallen slabs extended almost half-way across it. The sculptures from No. 3. to 11. (inclusive) were found to be in admirable preservation, although the slabs were broken by the fall. They were divided, as those already described *, into two compartments, separated by an inscription running across the slab. All these inscriptions were precisely similar.

The bas-reliefs, above and below, were of the highest interest. They represented the wars of the king, and the conquest of some strange people. The two upper bas-reliefs, on slabs Nos. 3. and 4., formed one subject — the king followed by warriors, in battle with his enemies under the walls of a hostile castle. He stands, gorgeously attired, in a chariot, drawn, as usual, by three horses richly caparisoned. He is discharging an arrow either against the besieged, who are defending the towers and walls; or against a warrior, who, already wounded, is tumbling from

* Ante, page 129.

his chariot, one of the horses having fallen to the ground. An attendant protects the person of the king with a shield, whilst a second is holding the reins and urging on the horses. A warrior, fallen from the chariot of the enemy, is almost under the horses' feet. Above the king discharging an arrow, the head of which is in the form of a trident, is the great Deity, represented — as at Persepolis — by a winged figure within a circle. He wears the horned cap resembling that of the human-headed lions and bulls.

Behind the king are three chariots; the first, drawn by three horses — one of which is rearing and another falling — is occupied by a warrior already pierced by an arrow, and apparently demanding quarter of the pursuers. In the two other chariots are two warriors, one discharging an arrow, the other guiding the horses, which are at full speed. In each chariot is a standard — on one is an archer, with the horned cap but without wings, standing on a bull; on the other two bulls, back to back. At the bottom of the first bas-relief, are wavy lines, to indicate water or a river, and trees are scattered over both. Groups of men, fighting or slaying the enemy, are introduced in several places; and three headless bodies above the principal figures in the second bas-relief represent the dead in the background.*

On the two next slabs was the return after victory. In front of the procession are several warriors

* These bas-reliefs are already deposited in the British Museum.

carrying heads, and throwing them at the feet of the conquerors. Two musicians are playing with a plectrum, on stringed instruments, or harps similar to those on slabs Nos. 19. and 20. of the same chamber.* They are followed by the warriors, who were represented in battle in the previous bas-relief, now unarmed, and holding their standards before them; above them flies an eagle with a human head in his talons. Behind them is the king carrying in one hand his bow, and in the other two arrows; the position in which he is so frequently represented on Assyrian monuments, and probably denoting triumph over his enemies: above the horses is the presiding divinity; also holding his bow in his hand. The second warrior, who bore the shield, is now replaced by an eunuch, raising the parasol, the emblem of royalty, above the monarch's head; the third warrior still holds the reins of the horses, which are led by grooms standing at their heads. Behind the king's chariot is a horseman leading a second horse, gaily caparisoned.

After the procession, we have the castle and pavilion of the conquering king. The ground plan of the former is represented by a circle, divided into four equal compartments, and surrounded by towers and battlements. In each compartment there are figures apparently engaged in various culinary occupations, and preparing the feast; one is holding a sheep, which the other is cutting up: another ap-

* One of them is now in the British Museum.

pears to be baking bread. Various bowls and utensils are placed on tables and stools, all remarkable for the elegance of their forms. The pavilion is supported by three posts or columns; on the summit of one is the fir-cone, — the emblem so frequently found in the Assyrian sculptures; on the others are figures of the ibex or mountain goat, their feet brought together as if preparing to jump. They are designed with great spirit, and carefully executed. The material — probably silk or woollen stuff, — with which the upper part of the pavilion is covered, is richly ornamented and edged with a fringe of fir-cones, and another ornament which generally accompanies the fir-cone when used in the embroidery of dresses, and in the decoration of rooms. Beneath the canopy is a groom cleaning one horse; whilst others, picketted by their halters, are feeding at a trough. An eunuch, who appears to stand at the entrance of the tent, is receiving four prisoners, with their hands tied behind, brought in by a warrior in a pointed helmet. Above this group are two singular figures, uniting the human form with the head of a lion. One holds a whip or a thong in the right hand, and grasps his under jaw with the left. The hands of the second are elevated and joined in front. They wear under-tunics descending to the knees; and a skin falls from the head, over the shoulders, down to the ankles. They are accompanied by a man clothed in a short tunic, and raising a stick with both hands.

The four following bas-reliefs represent a battle, in which the king, the two warriors with their standards, and an eunuch are represented in chariots; and four warriors, amongst whom is also an eunuch, on horses. The enemy are on foot, some wounded, some dead; others discharging their arrows against the pursuers. Eagles fly above the victors, and one is already feeding on a dead body. The winged divinity in the circle, is again seen above the king. These bas-reliefs are executed with great spirit, particularly that containing the horsemen.

On the lower series of bas-reliefs are represented three subjects — the siege of a castle, the king receiving his prisoners, and the king, with his army crossing a river. The first occupies the under compartments of three slabs. The greater part of the castle is in the centre bas-relief. It has three towers, and apparently several walls, one behind the other. They are all surmounted by angular battlements. The besiegers have brought a battering ram (attached to a moveable tower, apparently constructed of wicker-work) up to the wall, from which many stones have already been dislodged and are falling. One of the besieged has succeeded in catching the ram by a chain, and is endeavouring to raise or move it from its place; whilst two warriors of the assailing party are holding it down by hooks, to which they are hanging. Another is throwing fire (traces of the red paint being still retained in the sculpture) from above, upon the engine; which the besiegers endeavour to quench, by pouring water upon it from

two spouts in the moveable tower. Two figures, in full armour, are undermining the walls with instruments like blunt spears; whilst two others appear to have found a secret passage into the castle. Three of the besieged are falling from the walls; and upon one of the towers are two women, tearing their hair and extending their hands, as if in the act of asking for mercy. The enemy are already mounting to the assault, and scaling ladders have been placed against the walls. The king, discharging an arrow, and defended by a warrior in complete armour, who holds a shield before him, stands on one side of the castle. He is attended by two eunuchs, one holding the umbrella, the other his quiver and mace. Behind them is a warrior, leading away captive three women and a child; and driving three bullocks, a part of the spoil. The women are tearing their hair.

On the other side of the castle are two kneeling figures, one discharging an arrow, the other holding a wicker shield for his companion's defence. Behind them is the vizir, also discharging an arrow, and protected by the shield of a second warrior. He is followed by three more warriors, the first kneeling, and two behind in complete armour, erect—one bending the bow, the other raising a shield. They appear to have left their chariot, in which the charioteer is still standing. The heads of the horses are held by a groom; and behind the chariot are two warriors, carrying each a bow and a mace.

Upon the lower part of the three next slabs, is the king receiving captives; the subject being treated,

with the exception of the prisoner, — who is here omitted, — and of the grouping of the figures, in the same manner as that on Nos. 17. and 18. in this chamber, and already described.* Behind the chariot of the king, however, are two other chariots each containing a charioteer alone: they are passing under the walls of a castle, in which are women in animated conversation, probably viewing the procession, or discussing the results of the expedition.

The three remaining bas-reliefs are highly interesting, and curious. The first represents a boat containing a chariot, in which is the king. In one hand he holds two arrows, in the other a bow. An eunuch, standing in front of the chariot, is talking with the king, and is pointing with his right hand to some object in the distance, perhaps the stronghold of the enemy. Behind the chariot is a second eunuch, holding a bow, and a mace. The boat is towed by two naked men, who are walking on dry land; and four men row the vessel with oars. One oar, with a broad flat extremity, is passed through a rope, hung round a thick wooden pin at the stern, and serves both to guide and impel the boat. It is singular that this is precisely the mode adopted by the inhabitants of Mosul to this day, when they cross the Tigris in barks, perhaps even more rude than those in use, on the same river, three thousand years ago. A charioteer, standing in the vessel, holds by the halters four horses, who are swimming.

* P. 129.

over the stream. A naked figure is supporting himself upon an inflated skin,—a mode of swimming rivers still practised in Mesopotamia. In fact, the three bas-reliefs, with the exception of the king and the chariot, might represent a scene daily witnessed on the banks of the Tigris,—probably the river here represented. The water is shown by undulating lines, covering the face of the slab. On the next slab are two smaller boats; in the first appears to be the couch of the king, and a jar or large vessel; in the other an empty chariot: they are each impelled by two men, seated face to face at their oars. Five other figures, two leading horses by their halters, are swimming on skins. Two fish are represented in the water. On the third slab is the embarcation—men are placing two chariots in a boat, which is about to leave the shores; two warriors, one with, and the other without, support, are already swimming over; and two others are filling and tying up their skins on the bank. Behind them, on dry land, are three figures erect, probably officers superintending the proceedings; one of whom, an eunuch, holds a whip in his right hand, which may have been used—as in the army of Xerxes—to keep the soldiers to their duty, and prevent them flying from the enemy.*

Chamber I had only been partly uncovered; the

* Herod. book vii. ch. 56. in which Xerxes is described as seeing his troops driven by blows over the bridge across the Hellespont; and we learn also from the same author, that it was the custom for the officers to carry whips to urge their soldiers on to the combat: same book, ch. 223.

slabs were still half buried, and the pavement was covered to the height of six feet. A party of Arabs were employed in removing the remaining earth. As we approached the floor, a large quantity of iron was found amongst the rubbish; and I soon recognised in it, the scales of the armour represented on the sculptures. Each scale was separate, and was of iron, from two to three inches in length, rounded at one end, and squared at the other, with a raised or embossed line in the centre.

The iron was covered with rust, and in so decomposed a state, that I had much difficulty in cleansing it from the soil. Two or three baskets were filled with these relics.

As the earth was removed, other portions of armour were found; some of copper, others of iron, and others of iron inlaid with copper. At length a perfect helmet, resembling in shape, and in the ornaments, the pointed helmet represented in the bas-reliefs, was discovered. When the rubbish was cleared away it was perfect, but immediately fell to pieces. I carefully collected and preserved the fragments, which have been sent to England. The lines which are seen round the lower part of the pointed helmets in the sculptures, are thin strips of copper, inlaid in the iron.

Several helmets of other shapes, some with the arched crest, were also uncovered; but they fell to pieces as soon as exposed; and I was only able, with the greatest care, to gather up a few of the fragments which still held together, for the iron was in so

complete a state of decomposition that it crumbled away on being touched.

Portions of armour in copper, and embossed, were also found, with small holes for nails round the edges.

The slabs numbered 8, 9, 10, and 11 on the plan * had fallen from their places, and were broken into small pieces. I raised them, and discovered under them — but of course broken into a thousand fragments — a number of vases of the finest white alabaster, and several vessels of baked clay. I carefully collected these fragments, but it was impossible to put them together. I found, however, that upon some of them cuneiform characters were engraved, and I soon perceived the name and title of the Khorsabad king, accompanied by the figure of a lion. Upon the pottery were several characters differently formed, resembling those sometimes seen on monuments of Babylonia and Phœnicia, probably a cursive writing in common use; whilst the cuneiform, or more complex letters, were reserved for monumental and sacred inscriptions. The earthen vases appear to have been painted of a light yellow colour, and ornamented with bars, zig-zag lines, and simple designs in black.

Whilst I was collecting and examining these curious relics, a workman digging away the earth from a corner of the chamber, between slabs 20 and 21, came upon a perfect vase; but unfortunately struck it with his pick, and broke away the upper part of it.

* Chamber I, plan 3.

I took the instrument, and, working cautiously myself, was rewarded by the discovery of two small vases, one in alabaster, the other in glass, (both in the most perfect preservation,) of elegant shape, and admirable workmanship. Each bore the name and title of the Khorsabad king, written in two different ways, as in the inscriptions of Khorsabad.

A kind of exfoliation had taken place in the glass vase, and it was incrusted with thin, semi-transparent lamina, which glowed with all the brilliant colours of the opal. This beautiful appearance is a well-known result of age, and is frequently found on glass in Egyptian, Greek, and other early tombs.

From the inscription on the vases, it was evident that this chamber had been opened; or that the building was still standing in the time of the king who built the palace at Khorsabad.

In front of the bas-reliefs Nos. 13. and 18., in the same chamber, were two large slabs slightly hollowed, similar to those in hall B, already described*; and there were also two recesses, resembling that in chamber H†, nearly opposite one another, in the upper part of the chamber. In the lower compartment of slab No. 16. were two beardless figures, which, from a certain feminine character in the features, and from a bunch of long hair falling down their backs, appear to be women. They wear the same horned cap as the bearded figures, and, like them, have wings. They are facing one another, and between them is the

* P. 134, &c. † P. 145.

usual sacred tree. They hold in one hand a garland or chaplet; and raise the other towards the symbolical or sacred tree, placed between them. They wear a necklace, to which is appended several circular medallions, having stars cut upon them, probably also symbolical.

The shape of this chamber was singular. It had two entrances, one communicating with the rest of the building, the other leading into a small room, from which there was no other outlet. It resembled a long passage, turning abruptly at right angles, and opening into a wider, though still an elongated, apartment.

In chamber J, nothing of any importance was discovered. The slabs were unsculptured; upon each of them was the usual inscription, which was also cut upon the slabs forming the pavement. It will be observed by a reference to the plan (3), that there was a recess in one of the corners, resembling a doorway or entrance; but the communication with chamber H, was cut off by a single slab. As it is not probable that the wall of sun-dried bricks was carried up to the roof in this place, there may have been an opening here, to admit light and air. However, it is difficult to account for half the architectural mysteries in this strange building.

The entrance formed by the pair of small human-headed lions, discovered in chamber G, led me into a new hall, which I did not then explore to any extent, as the slabs were not sculptured.

It was in the centre of the mound, however, that

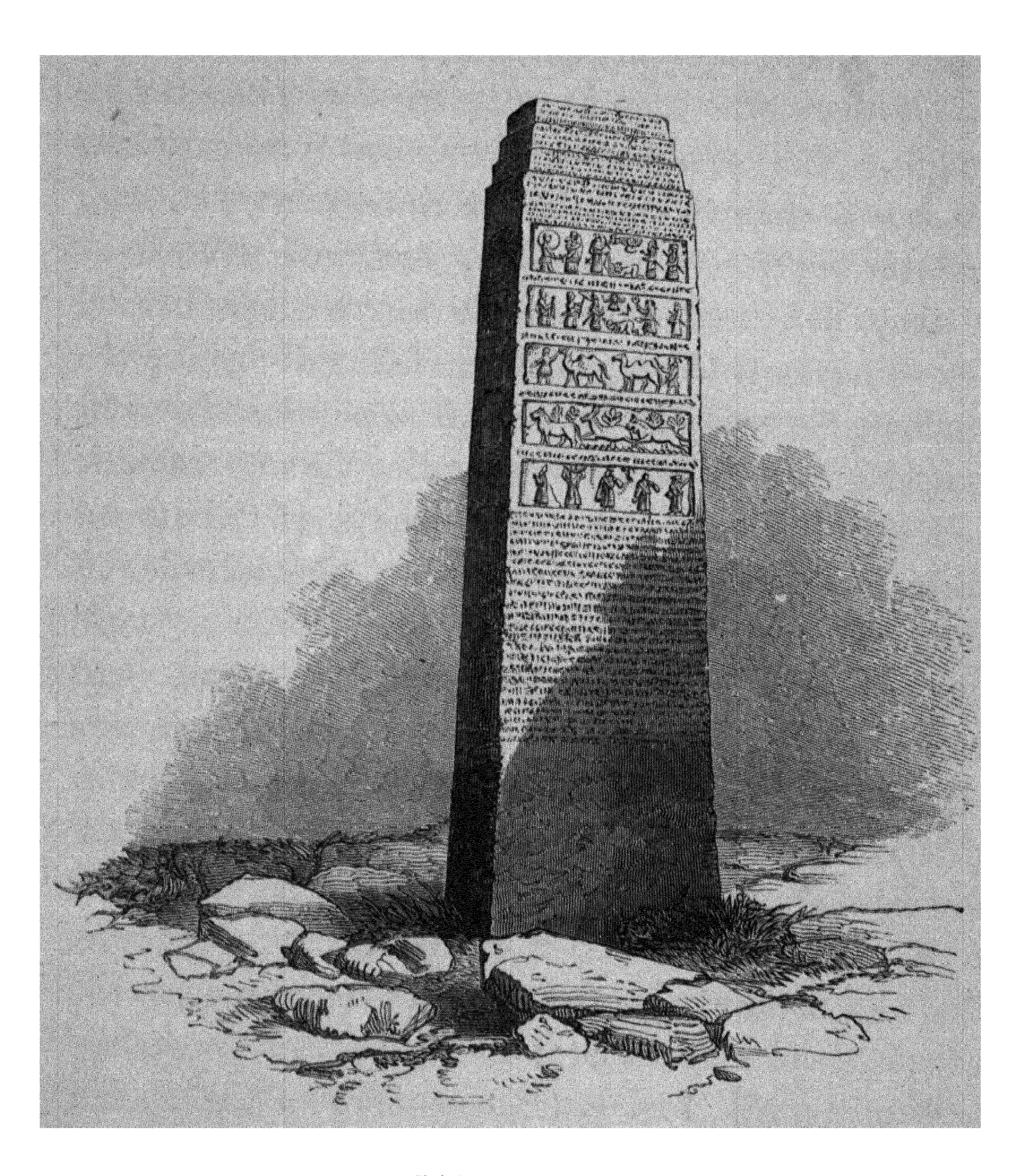
one of the most remarkable discoveries awaited me. I have already mentioned the pair of gigantic winged bulls, first found there.* They appeared to form an entrance and to be only part of a large building. The inscriptions upon them contained a name, differing from that of the king, who had built the palace in the north-west corner. On digging further I found a brick, on which was a genealogy, the new name occurring first, and as that of the son of the founder of the earlier edifice. This was, to a certain extent, a clue to the comparative date of the newly discovered building.

I now sought for the walls, which must have been connected with the bulls. I dug round these sculptures, but found no other traces of building, except a few squared stones, fallen from their original places. As the backs of the bulls were completely covered with inscriptions, in large and well-formed cuneiform characters, I was led to believe that they might originally have stood alone. Still there must have been other slabs near them. I directed a deep trench to be carried, at right angles, behind the northern bull. After digging about ten feet, the workmen found a slab lying flat on the brick pavement, and having a gigantic winged figure sculptured in relief upon it. It resembled some already described; and carried the fir-cone, and the square basket or utensil, but there was no inscription across it. Beyond was a similar figure, still more gigantic in its pro-

* P. 47.

portions, being about fourteen feet in height. The relief was low, and the execution inferior to that of the sculptures discovered in the other palaces. The beard and part of the legs of a winged bull, in yellow limestone, were next found. These remains, imperfect as they were, promised better things. The trench was carried on in the same direction for several days; but nothing more appeared. It had reached above fifty feet in length, and still without any new discovery. I had business in Mosul, and was giving directions to the workmen to guide them during my absence. Standing on the edge of the hitherto unprofitable trench, I doubted whether I should carry it any further; but made up my mind at last, not to abandon it until my return, which would be on the following day. I mounted my horse; but had scarcely left the mound when a corner of black marble was uncovered, lying on the very edge of the trench. This attracted the notice of the superintendent of the party digging, who ordered the place to be further examined. The corner was part of an obelisk, about seven feet high, lying on its side, ten feet below the surface.

An Arab was sent after me without delay, to announce the discovery; and on my return I found the obelisk completely exposed to view. I descended eagerly into the trench, and was immediately struck by the singular appearance, and evident antiquity, of the remarkable monument before me. We raised it from its recumbent position, and, with the aid of ropes, speedily dragged it out of the ruins. Al-



THE OBELISK.

though its shape was that of an obelisk, yet it was flat at the top and cut into three gradines. It was sculptured on the four sides; there were in all twenty small bas-reliefs, and above, below, and between them was carved an inscription 210 lines in length. The whole was in the best preservation; scarcely a character of the inscription was wanting; and the figures were as sharp and well defined as if they had been carved but a few days before. The king is twice represented, followed by his attendants; a prisoner is at his feet, and his vizir and eunuchs are introducing men leading various animals, and carrying vases and other objects of tribute on their shoulders, or in their hands. The animals are the elephant, the rhinoceros, the Bactrian or two-humped camel, the wild bull, the lion, a stag, and various kinds of monkeys. Amongst the objects carried by the tribute-bearers, may perhaps be distinguished the tusks of the elephant, shawls, and some bundles of precious wood. From the nature, therefore, of the bas-reliefs, it is natural to conjecture that the monument was erected to commemorate the conquest of India, or of some country far to the east of Assyria, and on the confines of the Indian peninsula. The name of the king, whose deeds it appears to record, is the same as that on the centre bulls; and it is introduced by a genealogical list containing many other royal names.

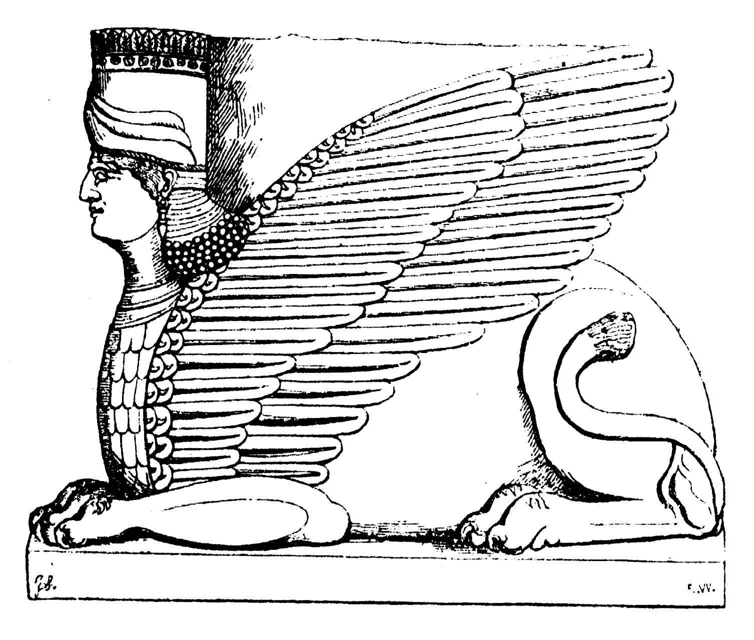
I lost no time in copying the inscriptions, and drawing the bas-reliefs, upon this precious relic. It was then carefully packed, to be transported at once

to Baghdad. A party of trustworthy Arabs were chosen to sleep near it at night; and I took every precaution that the superstitions and prejudices of the natives of the country, and the jealousy of rival antiquaries, could suggest.

In the south-east corner, discoveries of scarcely less interest and importance were made, almost at the same time. The workmen were exploring the walls *a* and *d* *; on reaching the end of them, they discovered a pair of winged lions, of which the upper part, including the head, was almost entirely destroyed. They differed in many respects from those forming the entrances of the north-west palace. They had but four legs; they were carved out of a coarse limestone, and not out of alabaster; and behind the body of the lion, and in front behind the horned cap, and above the wings, were sculptured several figures, which were unfortunately greatly injured, and could with difficulty be traced. Behind the lion was a carved monster, uniting the head of an eagle or vulture, with the body and arms of a man, and the tail of a fish or dragon. Beneath were two figures, one of which — a priest carrying a pole tipped by the oft-recurring fir-cone — could alone be distinguished. In front were two human figures, one with the head of a lion raising a stick in one hand, as if in the act of striking. Between the two lions, forming this entrance, were a pair of crumbling sphinxes. They differed from all Assyrian sculptures hitherto dis-

* Plan 2.

covered; nor could I form any conjecture as to their original use. They were not in relief, but entire. The head was beardless; but whether male or female, I cannot positively determine: the horned cap was square, and highly ornamented at the top, resembling the head-dress of the winged bulls at Khorsabad. The body was that of a lion. A pair of gracefully formed wings appeared to support a kind of platform, or the base of a column; but no trace of a column could be found. These sphinxes may have been altars for sacrifice, or places to receive offerings to the gods, or tribute to the king. There was no inscription upon them, by which they could be connected with any other building.



SPHINX FROM S. W. PALACE. (NIMROUD.)

The whole entrance was buried in charcoal, and the fire which destroyed the building, appears to have raged in this part with extraordinary fury. The

sphinxes were almost reduced to lime; one had been nearly destroyed; but the other, although broken into a thousand pieces, was still standing when uncovered. I endeavoured to secure it with rods of iron, and wooden planks; but the alabaster was too much decomposed to resist exposure to the atmosphere. I had scarcely time to make a careful drawing, before the whole fell to pieces: the fragments were too small to admit of their being collected, with a view to future restoration. The sphinxes, when entire, were about five feet in height and in length.

Whilst superintending the removal of the charcoal, blocking up the entrance formed by the winged lions just described, I found a small head in alabaster, with the high horned cap, precisely similar to that of the large sphinx. A few minutes afterwards, the body of the crouching lion was dug out, and I had then a complete and very beautiful model of the larger sculptures. It had been injured by the fire, but was still sufficiently well preserved to show accurately the form, and details. In the same place I discovered the bodies of two lions, united and forming a platform or pedestal, similar to that formed by the one crouching sphinx; but the human heads were wanting, and the rest of the sculpture had been so much injured by fire, that I was unable to preserve it.

The plan, and nature of the edifice in the S.W. corner, was still a mystery to me. All the slabs hitherto uncovered had evidently been brought from another building; chiefly from that in the N.W. part

of the mound. The discovery of the entrance I have just described, proved this beyond a doubt; as it enabled me to distinguish between the back and the front of the walls. I was now convinced that the sculptures hitherto found, were not meant to be exposed to view; they were, in fact, placed *against* the wall of sun-dried bricks; and the back of the slab, smoothed preparatory to being re-sculptured, was turned towards the interior of the chambers. I had not yet had sufficient experience in the Assyrian character, to draw any inference from the inscriptions occurring on the bricks, found amongst the ruins in this part of the mound, so as to connect the name of the King upon them, with that of the founder of any known building.

There were no inscriptions between the legs and behind the bodies of the lions just described, as in other buildings at Nimroud and Khorsabad. I had not yet found any sculptures unaccompanied by the name and genealogy of the founders of the edifice in which they had been placed. When no inscription was on the face, it was invariably to be found on the back of the slab. I determined, therefore, to dig behind the lions. I was not disappointed in my search; a few lines in the cuneiform character were discovered, and I recognised at once the names of three kings in genealogical series. The name of the first king in the series, or the founder of the edifice, was identical with that of the builder of the N.W. palace; that of his father with the name on the bricks found in the ruins opposite Mosul; that of

his grandfather with the name of the builder of Khorsabad. This fortunate discovery served to connect the latest palace at Nimroud, with two of the most important cities or edifices in Assyria; and subsequently with important monuments existing in other parts of Asia. It will be shown hereafter, upon what evidence the proof of the facts I have here stated rests.*

Whilst excavations were thus successfully carried on in the centre, and amongst the ruins of the two palaces first opened, discoveries of a different nature were made in the S.E. corner, which was much higher than any other part of the mound. I dug to a considerable depth, without meeting with any traces of building. Fragments of inscribed bricks, and of pottery, appeared in abundance; and a few earthen vessels, and jars well preserved, were found amongst the rubbish. One morning, the superintendent of the workmen informed me that a slab had been uncovered, bearing an inscription. I hastened to the spot, and saw the stone he had described lying at the bottom of the trench. Upon it was the name of the same king, written as on the centre bulls. The slab having been partly destroyed, the inscription was imperfect. I ordered it to be raised, with the intention of copying it. This was quickly effected with the aid of an iron crow; when, to my surprise, I found that it had been used as the lid of an earthen sarcophagus, which, with its contents,

* See Vol. II. Part II. Chap. I.

was still entire beneath. The sarcophagus was about five feet in length, and very narrow. The skeleton was well preserved, but fell to pieces almost immediately on exposure to the air: by its side were two jars in baked clay of a red colour, and a small alabaster bottle, all precisely resembling, in shape, similar vessels discovered in Egyptian tombs. There was no other clue to the date, or origin of the sepulchre.

The sarcophagus was too small to contain a man of ordinary size when stretched at full-length; and it was evident, from the position of the skeleton, that the body had been doubled up when forced in. A second earthen case was soon found, differing in form from the first. It resembled a dish-cover, and was scarcely four feet long. In it were other vessels of baked clay. Its lid was a slab taken from some building, like the lid of the sarcophagus first discovered. Although the skulls were entire when first exposed to view, they crumbled into dust as soon as touched, and I was unable to preserve either of them.

The six weeks following the commencement of excavations upon a large scale, were amongst the most prosperous, and fruitful in events, during my researches in Assyria. Every day produced some new discovery. My Arabs entered with alacrity into the work, and felt almost as much interested in its results as I did myself. They were now well organised, and I had no difficulty in managing them. Even their private disputes, and domestic quarrels were referred to me. They found this a cheaper fashion

of settling their differences than litigation; and I have reason to hope that they received an ampler measure of justice than they could have expected at the hands of his reverence, the Cadi. The tents had greatly increased in numbers, as the relatives of those who were engaged in the excavations came to Nimroud, and swelled the encampment; for although they received no pay, they managed to live upon the gains of their friends. They were, moreover, preparing to glean, — in the event of there being any crops in the spring, — and to take possession of little strips of land along the banks of the river, upon which they might cultivate millet during the summer. They already began to prepare water-courses, and machines for irrigation. The mode of raising water, generally adopted in the country traversed by the rivers of Mesopotamia, is very simple. In the first place a high bank, which is never completely deserted by the river, must be chosen. A broad recess, down to the water's edge, is then cut in it. Above, on the edge of this recess, are fixed three or four upright poles, according to the number of oxen to be employed, united at the top by rollers running on a swivel, and supported by a large framework of boughs and grass, extending to some distance behind, and intended as a shelter from the sun during the hot days of summer. Over each roller are passed two ropes, the one being fastened to the mouth, and the other to the opposite end, of a sack, formed out of an entire bullock skin. These ropes are attached to oxen, who throw all their weight upon them by descending an inclined

plane, cut into the ground behind the apparatus. A trough formed of wood, and lined with bitumen, or a shallow trench, coated with matting, is constructed at the bottom of the poles, and leads to the canal running into the fields. When the sack is drawn up to the roller, the ox turns round at the bottom of the inclined plane, and the rope attached to the lower part of the bucket being fastened to the back part of the animal, he raises the bottom of the sack, in turning, to the level of the roller, and the contents are poured into the troughs. As the ox ascends, the bucket is lowered; and, when filled, by being immersed into the stream, is again raised and emptied, as I have described. Although this mode of irrigation is very toilsome, and requires the constant labour of several men and animals, it is generally adopted on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. In this way all the gardens of Baghdad and Busrah are watered; and by these means the Arabs, who condescend to cultivate, — when, from the failure of the crops, famine is staring them in the face, —raise a little millet to supply their immediate wants.

The principal public quarrels, over which my jurisdiction extended, related to property abstracted, by the Arabs, from one another's tents. These I disposed of in a summary manner, as I had provided myself with handcuffs; and Ibrahim Agha, and the Bairakdar were always ready to act with energy and decision, to show how much they were devoted to my service. But the domestic dissensions were of a more serious nature, and their adjustment offered far greater difficulties. They related, of course, always to the

women. As soon as the workmen saved a few piasters, their thoughts were turned to the purchase of a new wife, a striped cloak, and a spear. To accomplish this, their ingenuity was taxed to the utmost extent. The old wife naturally enough raised objections, and picked a quarrel with the intended bride, which generally ended in an appeal to physical force. Then the fathers and brothers were dragged into the affair; from them it extended to the various branches of the tribe, always anxious to fight for their own honour, and for the honour of their women. At other times, a man repented himself of his bargain, and refused to fulfil it; or a father, finding his future son-in-law increasing in wealth, demanded a higher price for his daughter—a breach of faith which would naturally lead to violent measures on the part of the disappointed lover. Then a workman, who had returned hungry from his work, and found his bread unbaked, or the water-skin still lying empty at the entrance of his tent, or the bundle of faggots for his evening fire yet ungathered, would, in a moment of passion, pronounce three times the awful sentence, and divorce his wife; or, avoiding such extremities, would content himself with inflicting summary punishment with a tent-pole. In the first case he probably repented himself of his act an hour or two afterwards, and wished to be remarried; or to prove that, being an ignorant man, he had mispronounced the formula, or omitted some words—both being good grounds to invalidate the divorce, and to obviate the necessity of any fresh ceremonies. But

the mullah had to be summoned, witnesses called, and evidence produced. The beating was almost always the most expeditious, and really, to the wife, the most satisfactory way of adjusting the quarrel. I had almost nightly to settle such questions as these. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, who had obtained an immense influence over the Arabs, and was known amongst all the tribes, was directed to ascertain the merits of the story, and to collect the evidence. When this process had been completed, I summoned the elders, and gave judgment in their presence. The culprit was punished summarily, or in case of a disputed bargain, was made to pay more, or to refund, as the case required.

It is singular, considering the number of cases thus brought before me, that only on one occasion did either of the parties refuse to abide by my decision. I was sitting one evening in my tent, when a pretty Arab girl rushed into my presence, and throwing herself at my feet, uttered the most dismal lamentations. An old Arab woman, her mother, entered soon after, and a man endeavoured to force his way in, but was restrained by the brawny arms of the Bairakdar. It was some time before I could learn from either the girl or her mother, who were both equally agitated, the cause of their distress. The father, who was dead, had, during his lifetime, agreed to marry his daughter to the man who had followed them to my tent; and the price, fixed at two sheep, a donkey, and a few measures of wheat, had been partly paid. The Arab, who was a stranger, and did not belong to any of the

branches of the Jebour from which I had chosen my workmen, had now come to claim his bride; but the girl had conceived a violent hatred for him, and absolutely refused to marry. The mother, who was poor, did not know how to meet the difficulty; for the donkey had already been received, and had died doing his work. She was therefore inclined to give up her daughter, and was about to resign her into the hands of the husband, when the girl fled from their tent, and took refuge with me. Having satisfied myself that the man was of a bad character, and known as a professed thief in a small way (as discreditable a profession as that of a robber on a large scale is honourable), and the girl declaring that she would throw herself into the river rather than marry him, I ordered the mother to give back a donkey, with two sheep by way of interest for the use of the deceased animal, and furnished her privately with the means of doing so. They were tendered to the complainant; but he refused to accept them, although the tribe approved of the decision. As the girl appeared to fear the consequences of the steps she had taken, I yielded to her solicitations, and allowed her to remain under my roof. In the night the man went to the tent of the mother, and stabbed her to the heart. He then fled into the desert. I succeeded after some time in catching him, and he was handed over to the authorities at Mosul; but, during the confusion which ensued on the death of Tahyar Pasha, he escaped from prison, and I heard no more of him. The Arabs, on account of this

tragical business, were prejudiced against the girl, and there was little chance of her being again betrothed. I married her, therefore, to an inhabitant of Mosul.

When I first employed the Arabs, the women were sorely ill-treated, and subjected to great hardships. I endeavoured to introduce some reform into their domestic arrangements, and punished severely those who inflicted corporal chastisement on their wives. In a short time the number of domestic quarrels was greatly reduced; and the women, who were at first afraid to complain of their husbands, now boldly appealed to me for protection. They had, however, some misgivings as to the future, which were thus expressed by a deputation sent to return thanks after an entertainment: — "O Bey! we are your sacrifice. May God reward you. Have we not eaten wheat bread, and even meat and butter, since we have been under your shadow? Is there one of us that has not now a coloured handkerchief for her head, bracelets, and ankle-rings, and a striped cloak? But what shall we do when you leave us, which God forbid you ever should do? Our husbands will then have their turn, and there will be nobody to help us."

These poor creatures, like all Arab women, were exposed to constant hardships. They were obliged to look after the children, to make the bread, to fetch water, and to cut wood, which they brought home from afar on their heads. Moreover they were entrusted with all the domestic duties, wove their wool and goat's hair into clothes, carpets, and tent-canvass; and

were left to strike and raise the tents, and to load and unload the beasts of burden when they changed their encamping ground. If their husbands possessed sheep or cows, they had to drive them to the pastures, and to milk them at night. When moving, they carried their children at their backs during the march, and were even troubled with this burden when employed in their domestic occupations, if the children were too young to be left alone. The men sat indolently by, smoking their pipes, or listening to a trifling story from some stray Arab of the desert, who was always there to collect a group around him. At first the women, whose husbands encamped on the mound, brought water from the river; but I released them from this labour by employing horses and donkeys in the work. The weight of a large sheep or goat's skin filled with water, is not inconsiderable. This is hung on the back by cords strapped over the shoulders, and upon it, in addition, was frequently seated the child, who could not be left in the tent, or was unable to follow its mother on foot. The bundles of fire-wood, brought from a considerable distance, were enormous, completely concealing the head and shoulders of those who tottered beneath them. And yet the women worked cheerfully, and it was seldom that their husbands had to complain of their idleness. Some were more active than others. There was a young girl named Hadla, who particularly distinguished herself, and was consequently sought in marriage by all the men. Her features were handsome, and her form erect, and

exceedingly graceful. She carried the largest burdens, was never unemployed, and was accustomed, when she had finished the work imposed upon her by her mother, to assist her neighbours in completing theirs.

The dinners or breakfasts (for the meal comprised both) of the Arab workmen, were brought to them at the mound, about eleven o'clock, by the younger children. Few had more than a loaf of millet bread, or millet made into a kind of paste, to satisfy their hunger; — wheat bread was a luxury. Sometimes their wives had found time to gather a few herbs, which were boiled in water with a little salt, and sent in wooden bowls; and in spring, sour milk and curds occasionally accompanied their bread. The little children, who carried their father's or brother's portion, came merrily along, and sat smiling on the edge of the trenches, or stood gazing in wonder at the sculptures, until they were sent back with the empty platters and bowls. The working parties eat together in the trenches in which they had been employed. A little water, drank out of a large jar, was their only beverage. Yet they were happy and joyous. The joke went round; or, during the short time they had to rest, one told a story, which, if not concluded at a sitting, was resumed on the following day. Sometimes a pedler from Mosul, driving before him his donkey, laden with raisins or dried dates, would appear on the mound. Buying up his store, I would distribute it amongst the men. This largesse created an immense deal of satisfaction and enthusiasm, which any one, not acquainted with

the character of the Arab, might have thought almost more than equivalent to the consideration.

The Arabs are naturally hospitable and generous. If one of the workmen was wealthy enough to buy a handful of raisins, or a piece of camel's or sheep's flesh, or if he had a cow, which occasionally yielded him butter or sour milk, he would immediately call his friends together to partake of his feast. I was frequently invited to such entertainments; the whole dinner, perhaps, consisting of half a dozen dates or raisins spread out wide, to make the best show, upon a corn-sack; a pat of butter upon a corner of a flat loaf; and a few cakes of dough baked in the ashes. And yet the repast was ushered in with every solemnity;—the host turned his dirty keffiah, or head-kerchief, and his cloak, in order to look clean and smart; and appeared both proud of the honour conferred upon him, and of his means to meet it in a proper fashion.

I frequently feasted the workmen, and sometimes their wives and daughters were invited to separate entertainments, as they would not eat in public with the men. Generally of an evening, after the labours of the day were finished, some Kurdish musicians would stroll to the village with their instruments, and a dance would be commenced, which lasted through the greater part of the night. Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman, or some Sheikh of a neighbouring tribe, occasionally joined us; or an Arab from the Khabour, or from the most distant tribes of the desert, would pass through Nimroud, and entertain a large circle of curious and excited listeners with stories of

recent fights, plundering expeditions, or the murder of a chief. I endeavoured, as far as it was in my power, to create a good feeling amongst all, and to obtain their willing co-operation in my work. I believe that I was to some extent successful.

The Tiyari, or Nestorian Chaldæan Christians, resided chiefly on the mound, where I had built a large hut for them. A few only returned at night to the village. Many of them had brought their wives from the mountains. The women made bread, and cooked for all. Two of the men walked over to the village of Tel Yakoub, or to Mosul, on Saturday evening, to fetch flour for the whole party, and returned before the work of the day began on Monday morning; for they would not journey on the Sabbath. They kept their holidays, and festivals, with as much rigour as they kept the Sunday. On these days they assembled on the mound or in the trenches; and one of the priests or deacons (for there were several amongst the workmen) repeated prayers, or led a hymn or chant. I often watched these poor creatures, as they reverentially knelt — their heads uncovered — under the great bulls, celebrating the praises of Him whose temples the worshippers of those frowning idols had destroyed, — whose power they had mocked. It was the triumph of truth over Paganism. Never had that triumph been more forcibly illustrated than by those, who now bowed down in the crumbling halls of the Assyrian kings.

I experienced some difficulty in settling disputes between the Arabs and the Tiyari, which frequently

threatened to finish in bloodshed. The Mussulmans were always ready, on the slightest provocation, to bestow upon the Chaldæans the abuse usually reserved in the East for Christians. But the mountaineers took these things differently from the humble Rayahs of the plain, and retorted with epithets very harsh to a Mohammedan's ear. This, of course, led to the drawing of sabres and priming of matchlocks; and it was not until I had inflicted a few summary punishments, that some check was placed upon these disorders.

The women retained their mountain habits, and were always washing themselves on the mound, with that primitive simplicity which characterises their ablutions in the Tiyari districts. This was a cause of shame to other Christians in my employ; but the Chaldæans themselves were quite insensible to the impropriety, and I let them have their way.

On Sunday, sheep were slain for the Tiyari workmen, and they feasted during the afternoon. When at night there were music and dances, they would sometimes join the Arabs; but generally performed a quiet dance with their own women, with more decorum, and less vehemence, than their more excitable companions.

As for myself I rose at day break, and after a hasty breakfast rode to the mound. Until night I was engaged in drawing the sculptures, copying and moulding the inscriptions, and superintending the excavations, and the removal and packing of the bas-reliefs. On my return to the village, I was oc-

cupied till past midnight in comparing the inscriptions with the paper impressions, in finishing drawings, and in preparing for the work of the following day. Such was our manner of life during the excavations at Nimroud; and I owe an apology to the reader for entering into such details. They may, however, be interesting, as illustrative of the character of the genuine Arab, with whom the traveller is seldom brought so much into contact as I have been.

Early in December I had collected a sufficient number of bas-reliefs to load another raft, and I consequently rode into Mosul to make preparations for sending a second cargo to Baghdad. I had soon procured all that was necessary for the purpose; and loading a small raft with spars and skins for the construction of a larger, and with mats and felts for packing the sculptures, I returned to Nimroud.

The raft-men having left Mosul late in the day, and not reaching the Awai until after nightfall, were afraid to cross the dam in the dark; they therefore tied the raft to the shore, and went to sleep. They were attacked during the night, and plundered. I appealed to the authorities, but in vain. The Arabs of the desert, they said, were beyond their reach. If this robbery passed unnoticed, the remainder of my property, and even my person, might run some risk. Besides, I did not relish the reflection, that the mats and felts destined for my sculptures, were now furnishing the tents of some Arab Sheikh. Three or four days elapsed before I ascertained who were the robbers. They belonged to a small tribe encamping at some distance

from Nimroud — notorious in the country for their thieving propensities, and were the dread of my Jebour, whose cattle were continually disappearing in a very mysterious fashion. Having ascertained the position of their tents, I started off one morning at dawn, accompanied by Ibrahim Agha, the Bairakdar, and another irregular horseman, who was in my service. We reached the encampment after a long ride, and found the number of the Arabs to be greater than I expected. The arrival of strangers drew together a crowd, which gathered round the tent of the Sheikh, where I seated myself. A slight bustle was apparent in the women's department. I soon perceived that attempts were being made to hide various ropes and felts, the ends of which, protruding from under the canvass, I had little difficulty in recognising. "Peace be with you!" said I, addressing the Sheikh, who showed by his countenance that he was not altogether ignorant of the object of my visit. "Your health and spirits are, please God, good. We have long been friends, although it has never yet been my good fortune to see you. I know the laws of friendship; that which is my property is your property, and the contrary. But there are a few things, such as mats, felts, and ropes, which come from afar, and are very necessary to me, whilst they can be of little use to you; otherwise God forbid that I should ask for them. You will greatly oblige me by giving these things to me." "As I am your sacrifice, O Bey," answered he, "no such things as mats, felts, or ropes were ever in my tents (I observed

a new rope supporting the principal pole). Search, and if such things be found we give them to you willingly." "Wallah, the Sheikh has spoken the truth," exclaimed all the bystanders. "That is exactly what I want to ascertain; and, as this is a matter of doubt, the Pasha must decide between us," replied I, making a sign to the Bairakdar, who had been duly instructed how to act. In a moment he had handcuffed the Sheikh; and, jumping on his horse, dragged the Arab, at an uncomfortable pace, out of the encampment. "Now, my sons," said I, mounting leisurely, "I have found a part of that which I wanted; you must search for the rest." They looked at one another in amazement. One man, more bold than the rest, was about to seize the bridle of my horse; but the weight of Ibrahim Agha's courbatch across his back, drew his attention to another object. Although the Arabs were well armed, they were too much surprised to make any attempt at resistance; or perhaps they feared too much for their Sheikh, still jolting away at an uneasy pace in the iron grasp of the Bairakdar, who had put his horse to a brisk trot, and held his pistol cocked in one hand. The women, swarming out of the tents, now took part in the matter. Gathering round my horse, they kissed the tails of my coat and my shoes, making the most dolorous supplications. I was not to be moved, however; and extricating myself with difficulty from the crowd, I rejoined the Bairakdar, who was hurrying on his prisoner with evident good will.

The Sheikh had already made himself well-known to the authorities by his dealings with the villages, and

there was scarcely a man in the country who could not bring forward a specious claim against him — either for a donkey, a horse, a sheep, or a copper kettle. He was consequently most averse to an interview with the Pasha, and looked with evident horror on the prospect of a journey to Mosul. I added considerably to his alarm, by dropping a few friendly hints on the advantage of the dreary subterraneous lock-up house under the governor's palace, and of the pillory and sticks. By the time he reached Nimroud, he was fully alive to his fate, and deemed it prudent to make a full confession. He sent an Arab to his tents; and next morning an ass appeared in the court-yard bearing the missing property, with the addition of a lamb, and a kid by way of a conciliatory offering. I dismissed the Sheikh with a lecture, and had afterwards no reason to complain of him or of his tribe, — nor indeed of any tribes in the neighbourhood; for the story got abroad, and was invested with several horrible facts in addition, which could only be traced to the imagination of the Arabs, but which served to produce the effect I desired — a proper respect for my property.

During the winter Mr. Longworth, and two other English travellers, visited me at Nimroud. As they were the only Europeans (except Mr. Ross), who saw the palace when uncovered *, it may be interesting to the reader to learn the impression which the ruins were calculated to make upon those

* Mr. Seymour also visited me at Nimroud, but before the excavations were in an advanced stage.

who beheld them for the first time, and to whom the scene was consequently new. Mr. Longworth, in a letter*, thus graphically describes his visit:—

"I took the opportunity, whilst at Mosul, of visiting the excavations of Nimroud. But before I attempt to give a short account of them, I may as well say a few words as to the general impression which these wonderful remains made upon me, on my first visit to them. I should begin by stating, that they are all underground. To get at them, Mr. Layard has excavated the earth to the depth of twelve to fifteen feet, where he has come to a building composed of slabs of marble. In this place, which forms the north-western angle of the mound, he has fallen upon the interior of a large palace, consisting of a labyrinth of halls, chambers, and galleries, the walls of which are covered with bas-reliefs and inscriptions in the cuneiform character, all in excellent preservation. The upper part of the walls, which was of brick, painted with flowers, &c., in the brightest colours, and the roofs, which were of wood, have fallen; but fragments of them are strewed about in every direction. The time of day when I first descended into these chambers happened to be towards evening; the shades of which, no doubt, added to the awe and mystery of the surrounding objects. It was of course with no little excitement that I suddenly found myself in the magnificent abode of the old Assyrian kings; where, moreover, it needed not the slightest effort of imagination to conjure up visions

* Morning Post, March 3d, 1847.

of their long departed power and greatness. The walls themselves were crowded with phantoms of the past; in the words of Byron, '*Three* thousand years their cloudy wings expand;' unfolding to view a vivid representation of those who conquered and possessed so large a portion of the earth we now inhabit. There they were in the Oriental pomp of richly embroidered robes, and quaintly-artificial *coiffure*. There also were portrayed their deeds in peace and war, their audiences, battles, sieges, lion-hunts, &c. My mind was overpowered by the contemplation of so many strange objects; and some of them, the portly forms of kings and vizirs, were so life-like, and carved in such fine relief, that they might almost be imagined to be stepping from the walls to question the rash intruder on their privacy. Then, mingled with them were other monstrous shapes — the old Assyrian deities, with human bodies, long drooping wings, and the heads and beaks of eagles; or, still faithfully guarding the portals of the deserted halls, the colossal forms of winged lions and bulls, with gigantic human faces. All these figures, the idols of a religion long since dead and buried like themselves, seemed actually in the twilight to be raising their desecrated heads from the sleep of centuries: certainly the feeling of awe which they inspired me with, must have been something akin to that experienced by their heathen votaries of old."

I was riding home from the ruins one evening with Mr. Longworth. The Arabs returning from their day's work, were following a flock of sheep belonging

to the people of the village, shouting their war-cry, flourishing their swords, and indulging in the most extravagant gesticulations. My friend, less acquainted with the excitable temperament of the children of the desert than myself, was somewhat amazed at these violent proceedings, and desired to learn their cause. I asked one of the most active of the party. "O Bey," they exclaimed almost all together, "God be praised, we have eaten butter and wheaten bread under your shadow, and are content—but an Arab is an Arab. It is not for a man to carry about dirt in baskets, and to use a spade all his life; he should be with his sword and his mare in the desert. We are sad as we think of the days when we plundered the Anayza, and we must have excitement, or our hearts would break. Let us then believe that these are the sheep we have taken from the enemy, and that we are driving them to our tents!" And off they ran, raising their wild cry and flourishing their swords, to the no small alarm of the shepherd, who saw his sheep scampering in all directions, and did not seem inclined to enter into the joke.

By the middle of December, a second cargo of sculptures was ready to be sent to Baghdad.* I was again obliged to have recourse to the buffalo-carts of the Pasha; and as none of the bas-reliefs and objects

* Including the obelisk, nearly all the bas-reliefs forming the south wall of chamber B, plan 3, the tablets from chamber I (same plan), with the two female divinities and the kneeling winged figures, and a human head belonging to one of the gigantic bulls, forming an entrance to the palace in the south-west corner (No. 1. entrance *c*, plan 2).

to be moved were of great weight, these rotten and unwieldy vehicles could be patched up for the occasion. On Christmas day I had the satisfaction of seeing a raft, bearing twenty-three cases, in one of which was the obelisk, floating down the river. I watched them until they were out of sight, and then gallopped into Mosul to celebrate the festivities of the season, with the few Europeans whom duty or business had collected in this remote corner of the globe.

APPENDIX I.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANS AND EXPLANATION OF THE REFERENCES IN THEM.*

PLAN 1.

SHOWING THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE GREAT MOUND AT NIMROUD.

a. THE pyramid, or high conical mound, in the north-west corner. Two trenches were opened in it, but no remains of building were discovered.

b. Trenches opened in the platform immediately beneath the pyramid. Five or six feet beneath the surface, were discovered part of a pavement of large baked bricks, bearing the name of the king who built the north-west palace, fragments of pottery, and masonry of unburnt bricks, but no remains of sculpture, or alabaster slabs.

c. The north-west palace. (See plan 3.)

d. Deep trenches showing remains of painted chambers, but no sculptures or alabaster slabs, except for pavement at

* I have added this explanation to enable the reader to understand the plans without having to search for the references in the narrative.

the entrances. Fragments of pottery, and remains of masonry in unbaked bricks. In some places a pavement of baked bricks.

e. Upper chambers in a part of the mound elevated above the rest of the platform. (See plan 4.)

f. A mass of solid masonry of unbaked bricks, reaching almost to the surface of the platform; perhaps originally a part of the outer wall. No remains of pottery, or alabaster slabs.

g. The south-west palace. (See plan 2.)

h. Trenches showing remains of wall cased with alabaster slabs; probably originally sculptured, but completely destroyed by fire. The mound is here lower than at *g.*

i. Remains of centre palace; a pair of gigantic bulls, partly destroyed, and several bas-reliefs removed from their original places. Above the ruins numerous tombs.

ii. A large number of sculptured slabs, placed one above the other.

j. Trench in which the obelisk of black marble was discovered.

k. Part of the mound separated by a deep ravine from *h.* The trenches opened in it showed remains of painted chambers, and masonry of unbaked bricks. Fragments of a bull, or lion, in yellow limestone, and of an obelisk, or monument, in black stone, and painted bricks, and pottery, were discovered here.

l. A platform, or pavement, of thick plaster, immediately above the ravine.

m. Remains of south-east edifice. (See plan 5.) No sculptures, or alabaster slabs. Above ruins, sarcophagi, tombs, and a large quantity of pottery.

n. Trenches opened into the mound from the outer slope. Remains of building similar to those at *m*, and probably all part of one large edifice. Pottery, sarcophagi, &c., above the ruins.

o. Deep trenches. No remains of sculpture or alabaster slabs. Some pottery amongst the rubbish, and part of a

pavement, in large baked bricks, at a considerable depth beneath the surface.

p. Similar trenches. A pavement of baked bricks, part of a wall in roughly hewn blocks of limestone, a few fragments of pottery, and three lion's paws in copper discovered. No remains of sculpture or alabaster slabs.

q. Similar trenches, showing a pavement of baked bricks, and of limestone slabs, but no other remains of building.

r. Trenches cut from the eastern face of the mound through a solid mass, or wall, of sun-dried bricks, nearly fifty feet thick. In this wall was discovered the small vaulted chamber.

s. Deep trenches through the outer wall. No other remains of building.

t. Trenches in which fragments of pottery and part of a pavement were discovered, but no remains of building.

PLAN 2.

This building is situated in the south-west corner of the mound, and is built of slabs evidently brought from elsewhere, the inscriptions upon most of them being similar to those in the north-west palace. The only bas-reliefs, which may have faced the chambers, are those in walls *n, o, r, rr, q, ss, t, u, v*; but they also appear to have belonged to another building: all the others have their sculptured sides turned towards the wall of sun-dried bricks. It is sometimes doubtful which way the slabs face; as, for instance, in wall *ss*, where the opposite slabs have not been discovered. All the walls, except *n, q, s, ss*, and *t*, have been destroyed by fire.

WALL *a*.

All the slabs, except 5 and 10, are unsculptured, and have on the back the inscription found behind the slabs in the north-west palace, from whence they were evidently

brought. Slabs 5 and 10 appear to have been taken from the centre palace. The bas-reliefs face the wall of sun-dried bricks.

No. 5. King in a castle, receiving his vizir. He is seated on his throne, and surrounded by his attendants. Above him is a groom feeding a horse tied to a manger.

10. Horseman wearing a helmet with a curved crest, pursued by two Assyrian warriors. He is apparently asking for quarter; and his horse, pierced by two spears, is rearing.

Entrance *a*, formed by a pair of gigantic human-headed winged lions, much injured, facing inwards. Between them, two small crouching sphinxes, of alabaster.

Entrance *b*. A pair of winged bulls, much injured. Between them two double crouching sphinxes.

Entrance *c*. A pair of winged bulls. The human head of No. 1. has been sent to England.

Entrance *d*. Unsculptured slabs, with inscription of north-west palace.

WALL *b*.

Unsculptured slabs destroyed by fire.

WALL *c*.

Unsculptured slabs, with the inscription of the north-west palace.

WALL *d*.

The same. In front of the projecting part of this wall, as at *g*, *h*, and *ii*, were low circular pedestals, the use of which I am unable to conjecture.

WALL *e*.

Slabs with bas-reliefs erased, and the face made smooth, preparatory to being re-sculptured. (See page 29. Vol. II.)

No. 1., adjoining entrance *e*, the only slab sculptured; divided into two compartments: the upper bas-relief, partly destroyed, representing warriors hewing down trees; the lower, a warrior on horseback, hunting the wild bull.

WALL *f*.

No. 1. Sculptured slab turned towards the wall. Two bas-reliefs divided by the standard inscription of the north-west palace. In upper compartment, a battle with warriors in chariots. (See page 40. Vol. I.) In lower compartment, siege of a castle or walled city; warriors mounting a scaling-ladder, and setting fire to gates. Other warriors in turrets, discharging arrows and slinging stones at the assailants. (See page 41. Vol. I.) Both these bas-reliefs were greatly injured.

2. Corner-stone, partly destroyed; also divided into two compartments: the upper occupied by a horseman, and a warrior in a chariot; the lower by a castle, a woman on the walls tearing her hair, and a fisherman beneath drawing a fish from a stream. This slab was reversed.

The remaining slabs were unsculptured, had evidently never been placed, and were lying at the foot of the wall of sun-dried bricks. The inscriptions upon them showed that they had been taken from the north-west palace.

WALL *g*.

There were no traces of slabs, except at the eastern end of the wall.

WALL *h*.

No. 1. Two bas-reliefs, divided by the standard inscription of the north-west palace. In the upper, the king in his chariot, in battle, discharging an arrow against a charioteer. In the lower, two kneeling archers, and an eunuch discharging an arrow; behind them prisoners, raising their hands.

2. A corner-stone, reversed, containing the upper part of a figure, with a conical cap, the rest of the figure being purposely destroyed.

1st slab, on ground, divided into two compartments. The upper much injured. A chariot and warriors on foot could be traced. In the lower, the siege of a castle. A warrior cutting a bucket from a rope passed through a pulley.

WALL *i*.

Unsculptured slabs.

ii, *ii*. Two winged human-headed bulls, entirely in relief.

WALLS *j* and *jj*.

Unsculptured slabs, with the usual inscription of the north-west palace.

WALL *k*.

Unsculptured slabs, except Nos. 12, 16, and 17.

No. 12. Divided into two compartments, by standard inscription of north-west palace. The bas-relief in the upper much injured, only lower parts of figures remaining; the lower containing four figures, carrying supplies for a banquet.

16. Colossal figure, holding a flower with three blossoms in one hand.

17. Winged figure, almost completely destroyed.

On the ground, opposite 18, a square slab, with an inscription.

WALL *l*.

Traces of sculpture exist on the backs of several slabs, which have been destroyed by fire. The slab on the ground has no inscription, and is raised round the edges.

WALL *m*.

Unsculptured slabs, with the usual inscription from the north-west palace, with the exception of one slab, on which could be traced the remains of a colossal figure.

WALL *n*.

No. 1. Unsculptured.

2. Two groups of warriors discharging arrows; probably from centre palace.

3. Horsemen pursuing enemy. Vulture above, with the entrails of the slain.

Another slab, which had not been placed, was found near this wall. It contained a bas-relief with several castles on a hill, but was greatly injured.

WALL *o*.

All the slabs in this wall appear to have been sculptured, but the bas-reliefs were almost completely destroyed.

WALL *p*.

The panelling of alabaster slabs had disappeared.

WALL *q*.

No. 1. Divided into two compartments. In the lower, the king, and his vizir, standing over a prostrate enemy; followed by their eunuchs and other attendants. The upper compartment was almost entirely destroyed, but appears to have contained warriors on horseback. A wounded figure, wearing a helmet with a curved crest, was seen beneath the horse's feet.

2. Appears to have been a continuation of No. 1.; but only the feet of several figures, probably attendants, could be distinguished.

3. Upper compartment destroyed. In the lower, a king, holding his bow horizontally; an attendant carrying his arms.

The remaining slabs appear to have contained winged figures, but were almost completely destroyed.

WALL *r*.

No. 1. Divided by an inscription into two compartments. In the lower, a charioteer in a chariot, the horses of which are held by a groom on foot, preceded by an eunuch. In the upper, also a chariot, and a man on foot. Almost entirely destroyed.

2. Divided, like the preceding, into two compartments. In the lower, the king with his foot on the neck of a prostrate prisoner; vizir and attendants. In the upper (nearly defaced), figures of warriors discharging arrows could be traced.

3. Divided in the centre by an inscription. In lower compartment, a procession of warriors bearing idols on their shoulders. (See Vol. II. p. 55.) In upper, the siege of a city. These bas-reliefs appear to have been taken from the same edifice as Nos. 1, 2, and 3. of wall *q*.

WALL *rr*.

The remains of three slabs, on which were sculptured two winged figures and a king.

WALL *s*.

Only two slabs discovered. No. 1., unsculptured: No. 2., colossal figure carrying a mace; much injured.

WALL *ss*.

Only part of one slab remaining, with two colossal figures separated by the symbolical tree.

WALL *t*.

The lower part of several slabs, with the feet of colossal figures.

WALLS *u*, *v*.

Slabs greatly injured by fire. All appear to have been sculptured with colossal figures; but scarcely any part of the bas-reliefs could be distinguished, except a winged figure leading a goat, or an ibex, on slab 2, wall *v*.

Entrance *f*, formed by a pair of winged bulls, which had been almost entirely destroyed.

WALL *w*.

Only part of this wall could be traced by the remains of burnt slabs of alabaster.

Plan 3.

A.

Unsculptured slabs with the standard inscription on both sides. This was the first chamber discovered.

B.

Entrance *a*. 1 and 2, Winged human-headed lions, facing chamber B.

No. 1. Eagle-headed, winged, human figure, bearing square vessel and fir-cone.

2. Corner-stone, with sacred tree.

3 and 4. Each divided into two compartments, by standard inscription. In upper, one subject — king in his chariot, followed by warriors, fighting under the walls of a hostile castle. Above his head, the winged deity in a circle, discharging an arrow. Behind the king, three chariots, containing warriors.

5 and 6. Upper compartments contain one subject — procession of king and warriors returning after victory. Heads of the slain brought before them. Musicians playing on stringed instruments. Over the king's head presiding divinity with bow. Eunuch raising the parasol.

7. Upper compartment—interior of a castle and a pavilion. Figures engaged in domestic occupations; eunuch receiving prisoners; horses feeding; lion-headed human figures in one corner.

8, 9, 10, 11. Upper compartments, one subject — a battle scene. King in his chariot, accompanied by warriors and eunuchs in chariots and on horses; enemy on foot; eagles flying over the victors; winged divinity in a circle above the king.

3, 4, 5. Lower compartments — siege of a castle. Battering-ram attached to a moveable tower; figures in armour undermining the walls; women on towers tearing their hair; scaling-ladders placed against the walls. The king discharging an arrow, protected by the shield of a warrior, and attended by two eunuchs. Vizir, and other figures, some kneeling, others standing, discharging arrows on the other side of the castle.

6, 7, 8. Lower compartments. King, followed by his chariot and attendants, and by the chariots of his warriors, receiving captives. Women viewing the procession from the walls of a castle.

9, 10, 11. Lower compartments. King crossing a river in a boat; smaller boats, carrying chariots and furniture; figures swimming on inflated skins, others tying up their skins on the bank; embarcation of the chariots; three attendants superintending the passage of the river.

12. Colossal figure of the king, holding a cup in one hand, and his bow in the other; attended by eunuch carrying his arms.

13. Two kings facing one another, and attended by winged figures; a bas-relief similar to that on slab 23.

14. Similar to slab 12.

15. Colossal winged figure facing entrance *b*, with garland round head, carrying a flower with five branches in one hand, and square vessel in the other.

Entrance *b*. 1 and 2, Winged human-headed bulls in yellow limestone, facing chamber B. 3 and 4, slabs with standard inscription.

16. Similar to 15; figure facing entrance *b*.

17. Upper compartment—castle by a river. One tower defended by an armed man, two others occupied by females; three men swimming across the stream, two on inflated skins; two warriors on the bank, discharging arrows against the fugitives; trees in the background.

18. Upper compartment—siege of city, with battering-ram and moveable tower; king and his attendants under the walls.

17 and 18. Lower compartments contain one subject—king followed by his chariot and attendants, receiving prisoners.

19. Upper compartment—king hunting the lion.

19. Lower compartment—king raising the sacred cup, and standing over the conquered lion.

20. Upper compartment—king hunting the wild bull.

20. Lower compartment—king raising sacred cup, and standing over prostrate bull.

21. Corner-stone, similar to No. 2.

22. Colossal winged figure, with three-horned cap, carrying basket and fir-cone: facing 23.

23. Slab cut into a recess in which are two kings facing one another, separated by the symbolical tree, and each followed by a winged figure carrying fir-cone and basket. Above the sacred tree, and between the kings, is the winged divinity in a circle, holding a ring in one hand. In front of this sculpture was a large slab for a throne or altar.

24. Colossal winged figure, similar to No. 22.: facing 23.

25. Corner-stone, similar to No. 2.

26. Colossal human figure, with four wings; the right hand raised, and in the left a mace: facing entrance *c*.

Entrance *c*. 1 and 2, Winged human-headed lions, with human arms, and with their hands crossed in front: facing chamber E. 3 and 4, slabs with standard inscription.

27 and 28. Divided into two compartments — the upper completely destroyed. The lower contains one subject — the siege of a castle standing by a river or the sea. The inhabitants wear rounded caps made up of bands. A horseman, pursued by an Assyrian warrior in a chariot, discharges an arrow, turning backwards.

29. Colossal winged human figure, carrying stag on one arm, and in the left hand a flower with five blossoms; facing entrance *d*.

Entrance *d*. 1 and 2, Human-headed lions with arms, similar to those at entrance *e*, but carrying a stag or ram on one arm, and holding a flower with three blossoms in the right hand: facing chamber D. 3 and 4, unsculptured slabs with standard inscription.

30. Two colossal winged human figures, back to back. That to the east similar to No. 29, and facing entrance *d*; the other bearing the square vessel and fir-cone, and facing No. 31.

31. Corner-stone, similar to No. 2.

32. Eagle-headed winged human figure, similar to No. 1.

C.

On all the slabs, 13 in number, except 6, 7, and 8, are colossal winged figures with horned cap, bearing square vessel and fir-cone, in pairs, facing one another, and separated by the emblematical tree.

6. Colossal winged figure and eunuch attending upon the king.

7. King holding cup and bow.

8. Winged figure and eunuch attending on the king.

Entrance *b*. 1 and 2, Colossal winged figures with garland round the head. 3 and 4, unsculptured slabs.

Entrance *c*. Unsulptured slabs with usual inscription.

D.

Slab 1. Winged figure, about fourteen feet high, with three-horned cap, fir-cone, and square vessel.

2. Colossal figure of king holding bow and arrows, followed by eunuch, carrying his arms: facing No. 3.

3. Vizir, facing the king (No. 2.), and followed by eunuch.

4. Also vizir followed by eunuch.

5, 6, 7, 8. Colossal figures, apparently captives, bringing, as presents or tribute, ear-rings, bracelets, &c. Figure on slab 7, accompanied by two monkeys. All facing entrance *d*.

E.

Nos. 1 and 2. Figures resembling Nos. 5 —8. chamber D, bringing ear-rings, bracelets, and other ornaments on trays.

3 and 4. Similar to 1 and 2.

5. Gigantic winged figure resembling No. 1. chamber D.

F.

All the slabs, except No. 4., occupied by colossal eagle-headed figures in pairs, facing one another, and separated by the symbolical tree.

No. 4. Colossal figure of the king attended by eagle-headed figures, and wearing figures of the sun, moon, star, horned cap, and bident round his neck.

G.

Entrance *a*. 1 and 2, Colossal figures without wings, wearing garlands round their heads, right hand raised, and in the left a flower with three blossoms. 3 and 4, unsculptured, with the usual inscription. All the figures in this chamber are colossal, and remarkable for the careful finish of the sculpture and elaborate nature of the ornaments.

No. 1. Corner-stone, with sacred tree.

2, 3, 4. One subject — king seated on his throne, attended by three eunuchs and two winged figures.

18, 19. Winged figures: facing entrance *d*.

21, 22, 27. Eagle-headed figures: facing entrances *c* and *b*.

26. Unsculptured, with usual inscription.

All the other slabs in the east wall have, alternately, the king holding a cup in one hand and a bow in the other, attended by two eunuchs; and the king holding two arrows in one hand and a bow in the other, attended by two winged figures, carrying the fir-cone and basket. On the west wall, the groups are similar; but the king's hand is on the hilt of his sword, instead of holding the bow.

In front of Nos. 20. and 29. are square slabs of alabaster, with a hole in the centre.

Entrance *b*. 1 and 2, Human-headed winged lions: facing chamber Y.

Entrance *c*. 1 and 2, Colossal winged figures, holding fir-cone and basket: facing hall Y. 3 and 4, unsculptured, with usual inscription.

Entrance *d*. 1 and 2, Colossal eagle-headed winged figures: facing chamber N.

Entrance *e*. 1 and 2, Colossal winged human figures, bearing fir-cone and square utensil: facing chamber G. 3 and 4, unsculptured, with usual inscription.

H.

No. 1. Winged human figure, with fillet round the head, bearing fir-cone and basket: facing entrance *e*.

All the other slabs in this chamber have the king holding a cup in one hand, and a bow in the other, standing between two winged figures, with garlands round their heads similar to No. 1. There are three recesses in the western wall, in slabs 3, 30, and 32.

I.

All the slabs in this chamber, except No. 16., are similar. They are divided into two compartments by the usual inscription. The upper is occupied by two kneeling winged figures, in the horned cap, bearing the fir-cone and square utensil, or extending their hands, and separated by the sacred tree; the lower by two eagle-headed human figures, also standing before the sacred tree. The lower compartment of No. 16. contains two female winged figures, bearing garlands and wearing the horned caps, separated by the sacred tree. In the upper part of Nos. 17 and 18. a recess like a window. Before these slabs and No. 13. are square slabs with a hole in the centre.

Entrance *a*. Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription.

Eutrance *b*. Colossal winged figures, facing chamber G, and bearing square vessel and fir-cone.

J.

Slabs unsculptured, with the usual inscription; pavement of alabaster slabs bearing the standard inscription.

K.

Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription.

Entrance *c*. Two unsculptured slabs, and two with winged figures bearing square vessel and fir-cone, facing chamber H.

L.

Each slab in this chamber, except 18, 20, and 27, is occupied by a colossal winged figure, wearing the usual horned cap, and carrying the basket and fir-cone, separated from the next figure by the sacred tree.

Nos. 18. and 27. have recesses in the upper part: the lower is occupied by small winged figures, separated by the sacred tree.

20. A colossal female figure, with four wings, having one hand raised, and holding a garland or chaplet in the other, similar to the small figures, No. 16. chamber I. In front of this bas-relief was a square alabaster slab with a hole in the centre, communicating with a drain.

M.

Precisely similar to chamber J.

N.

All the slabs in this chamber, except Nos. 6. 9. and 10., have the usual colossal winged figures with the horned cap, separated by the sacred tree.

No. 6. King, holding two arrows in one hand, and a bow in the other.

9 and 10. Unsculptured, with usual inscription.

O.

Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription.

P.

No. 1. Unsculptured, with usual inscription.

2, 3, 4. Colossal winged figures, with horned cap.

The other slabs were unsculptured. They end abruptly at 4 and 5. The chamber is continued by a wall built of sun-dried bricks.

Entrance *a*. Two large slabs, each with two colossal winged figures, back to back, and facing respectively chambers S and Y.

R.

Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription. Pavement of alabaster slabs. A recess in No. 10.

S.

No. 1. Corner-stone with sacred tree.

2, 3, and 4. One subject. King with one hand on the hilt of his sword, and the other supported by a long staff; attended by two eunuchs bearing his arms. Behind each eunuch a sacred tree.

5 and 6. Colossal winged figures, wearing garlands round their heads: facing entrance *b*.

11 and 12. Eagle-headed figures: facing entrance *c*.

26. A narrow slab divided by the usual inscription into two compartments, each containing a small winged figure, with horned cap, carrying basket and fir-cone.

The remaining slabs are occupied by the usual winged figures with the horned cap, separated by the sacred tree.

Entrances *b*, *c*, and *d*, formed by colossal winged figures with the usual horned cap, bearing sacred flowers.

e. Winged bulls: facing chamber Y.

T.

All the slabs have the usual colossal winged figures with the horned cap, alternating with the sacred tree; a square alabaster slab with a hole in the centre, before No. 4.

Entrance *a*. Colossal winged figures with garlands round their temples, carrying on one arm a wild goat or a gazelle, and in the elevated right hand, an ear of corn: facing chamber Z.

U.

Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription.

Entrance *a*. Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription; above which were cut additional inscriptions, containing the name of the Khorsabad king.

V.

Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription. A square slab before No. 6. with a hole in the centre connected with a drain.

W.

Unsculptured slabs. A recess in the slab forming the north corner. In the entrance leading into V, and in the two chambers, were discovered the greater part of the ivory ornaments.

X.

Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription.

Y.

One side of this chamber has completely disappeared; that which remains is formed by unsculptured slabs with the usual inscription.

Entrance *f.* Winged bulls, facing chamber Y, and corresponding with those on the opposite side at entrance *e.*

Z.

A narrow passage, connecting hall Y with a chamber which has been completely destroyed.

Nos. 1, 2. 6, 7. are narrow slabs, divided by the usual inscription into two compartments, each occupied by a small winged figure. On the remaining slabs are colossal winged figures, with the horned cap.

A A.

Unsculptured slabs, with the usual inscription.

B B.

Unsculptured slabs, the greater part destroyed. Entrance *a* is formed by two small winged lions.

APPENDIX II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE IVORIES FROM THE NORTH-WEST PALACE.

(*From Mr. Birch's Observations on Two Egyptian Cartouches, and some other Ivory Ornaments found at Nimroud: Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, New Series.*)

1. Head of a man, full face, and a left cheek, of style peculiarly Egyptian; the eyes sunk for the purpose of inlaying; the brows incuse, and prolonged towards the ears, and filled with blue colour: the back of the head, which is flat, has been inlaid into wood: the face measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch high.

2. A pendent left arm, — the hand clenched: on the shoulder of this arm is the border of the garment, represented by pendent drops, and incused; these are inlaid with blue paint, and the part just below them is gilded, showing that the garment was gold: the length of this arm is $4\frac{7}{12}$ inches, and as the distance from the elbow to the knuckles is equal to two faces, it formed part of a figure of the same proportions.

3. Fore-part of a foot, completely carved, and which has been inlaid and projected: there is rather a deep hole between the great and first toe, but its use is uncertain.

4. A head, much decomposed, from a similar figure.

5, 6. Two pairs of hands clasping each other, perhaps from a figure in a dignified action, like that of the kings of Nimroud and Khorsabad, $2\frac{4}{12}$nches long.

5*. Garment with disked uræi inlaid. These fragments seem to have come from figures whose bodies were of ebony

or cedar, covered with an imitation of drapery, which was gilded, while the exposed parts of the body, similar to the wooden statues with stone extremities, called ἀκρόλιθοι by the Greeks, were executed in ivory. There is no trace of staining.

7. Jaws of a lion or panther, 2 inches high, and 2 inches wide.

8. A stag, grazing, and going to the left; incomplete; $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long.

9. Heads of two other stags, proceeding in the reverse direction, to the right.

10. Anterior part of a stag, nearly in full relief, head raised.

11—16. A cow, and portions of others, standing towards the right, but turning back its head, and licking its calf; $3\frac{4}{12}$ inches long.

17. Similar cow, turned to the left; 3 inches long.

18. Calves, which have apparently formed part of a group with the cows, which they may have been sucking; $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long.

19, 20. Bodies of winged gryphons, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch long.

21. The fragment of a bull, going to the right; the eye inlaid with blue; $1\frac{5}{12}$ inch high.

22. A fragment of another bull, $1\frac{3}{12}$ inch long.

The remainder are all portions of flat panels, of about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, with tenons above and below; they are all carved in bas-relief, of a round and Egyptian style; the accessories, such as the eyes, draperies, and portions of the chair, inlaid with a deep blue glass, probably an imitation of lapis lazuli, and some of the more important parts gilded. They are evidently the prototype of the toreutic work of the Greeks.

23, 24, 25. Three panels, which represent each the same subject, a monarch unbearded, wearing on his head the Egyptian *kheprr* or helmet, which is ornamented with a series of annulations or rings, perhaps to show that it was of chain or scale armour, and has in front the uræus serpent, emblem of royalty, with an Assyrian garment round the loins, like

the Egyptian shenti, apparently, from its corrugated folds, intended to represent wool, with a long pendent fold on the left side; the whole with a border of oval drops; the legs bare, and unshod, advancing to the right; holding in his left hand a tall flower of the lotus, which rises out of a clod of earth; the whole representing the Egyptian symbol for the upper country. As pendents to these are three other panels,

26, 27, 28, on which a figure, exactly the same, advances to the right. These, which are nearly of equal size, measuring $3\frac{5}{12}$, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and $2\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{12}$ inches wide, have evidently been placed in composition with one another, probably arranged in pairs or else in series, facing to the right and left.

29. Two figures in Egyptian style, with hair falling in locks from the crown of the head; squared at the base; wearing the shenti round the loins; standing face to face, and cording up between them a double flower of the papyrus: each figure places one foot on a flower of the papyrus. These figures are apparently imitated from the ordinary representation of the Nile, cording up the flowers of the lotus and papyrus, common to the sides of Egyptian thrones. There is half of a similar panel with the figure on the left side —

30. The large panel measures $3\frac{1}{11}$ inches wide, and 3 inches high; the fragment $2\frac{1}{12}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{12}$ inch.

31. Portion of another panel, representing an Assyrian deity, bearded and draped, standing, looking to the left, and holding in his pendent left hand a symbol of life, probably the god Baal or Belus; $2\frac{7}{12}$ inches high.

32—35. Three panels and head from another, also of style peculiarly Egyptian. They represent a kind of window with three plain mouldings, in which is a head carved in Egyptian style in very salient relief, the locks falling in regular rows of curls: in some instances these curls are tied at the ends. The neck has a collar round it, and is placed on a stand, supported by four pillars with capitals, in shape of the lily lotus. These measure $3\frac{7}{12}$ inches square, and were probably disposed at the gable end of whatever object they decorated.

There are four other heads (36), of most exquisite style

and in good preservation, which seem to have belonged to a similar panel. The ears in these panels follow the Egyptian canon, being placed above the eyes.

37. An imperfect panel, of large size: two winged sphinxes, placed back to back, facing outwards; their hair in pendent Egyptian locks, and in front of them palmettes; 6 inches long, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high.

38. Part of another sphinx and emblem *Tet* from a similar panel, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long.

39. Part of a large panel, of very fine style, representing a lion advancing to the right amidst the tall reeds of some river, five of the stems of which remain. This fragment, which rivals many of the archaic remains of Greece, has been embellished with blue and gold: it measures 3·5 inches by 6 inches. There are some smaller portions, representing a man in a chariot.

40. A chain border, exactly like the Greek.

41. A fleurette of eight petals, $\frac{11}{12}$ths of an inch in diameter; and

42. Another of twelve, $\frac{3}{4}$ths of an inch in diameter, with some minor odds and ends.

The two remaining ivories, 43 and 44, described by Mr. Birch, are the panels with the cartouches. (See page 10. Vol. II.)

Since this description was written several additional fragments of carved ivory have been placed in the British Museum. The most interesting is part of a very beautiful tablet, representing the god Horus with a finger upon his lip, seated on a lotus flower. On either side of him were other figures which have probably been destroyed; but as the tablet has not yet been restored, it cannot be fully described.

APPENDIX III.

LIST OF ASSYRIAN BAS-RELIEFS AND SCULPTURES SENT TO ENGLAND.*

1. A colossal human-headed winged lion.
2. A colossal human-headed winged bull.
3. * † A battle-piece with the king in his chariot beneath the walls of a castle.
4. * † Sequel to the preceding. Warriors combating in chariots.
5. * † Two warriors in shirts of mail; one discharging an arrow, the other holding a shield, followed by a chariot and warriors on foot.
6. * The siege of a castle, with battering-ram and moveable tower; warriors defending the walls, others discharging arrows, &c. &c. Part of preceding subject.
7. * Warriors scaling walls; king discharging an arrow, followed by his attendants; warriors driving off cattle and female prisoner with a child. Sequel to preceding subject.
8. * † The king hunting the lion.
9. * † The king hunting the wild bull.
10. † The king standing over the prostrate lion.

* Those marked with an * will be engraved in the "Monuments of Nineveh," and those with an † have already been placed in the British Museum. All these sculptures are from the north-west palace at Nimroud, except such as are mentioned as coming from elsewhere.

11. * The king standing over the prostrate bull.

12. * † The siege of a castle, with a battering-ram and moveable tower, and the king under the walls.

13. * † The king, followed by his attendants and his chariot, receiving prisoners.

14. * Prisoners led by warriors and eunuchs. Part of the preceding subject.

15. † Two heads: one of the king, the other of his attendant eunuch. Part of a large slab, the rest destroyed.

16. † Eagle-headed human figure: the wings, which were on an adjoining slab, are wanting in this specimen.‡

17. † A winged human figure, bearing the fir-cone and square utensil.

18. † The human head of a winged bull, and a hoof from the same sculpture, in yellow limestone.

19. * King crossing a river; horses swimming, and men on inflated skins.

20. † Continuation of the preceding. Boats carrying chariot and furniture; horses swimming, and men on skins.

21. * Sequel to preceding. Eunuch and warriors superintending embarcation of chariot in a boat; men preparing skins for crossing the river. (These three bas-reliefs were broken in many pieces.)

22. * Interior of castle or pavilion, with persons engaged in domestic occupations or sacrifice; horses feeding, &c.

23. Warriors in chariots, with standards, pursuing enemy.

24. * Horsemen contending with the enemy. Continuation of the preceding.

25. Eunuch warrior in chariot, contending with the enemy. Part of same subject.

26. King in his chariot, discharging an arrow. Part of same subject.

27. * King in his chariot, returning in triumph from battle; parasol borne over his head by an eunuch.

‡ All these single figures are between 7 ft. 6 in. and 8 ft. high.

28. * Sequel to the preceding. Warriors in chariots forming part of a triumphal procession and preceded by musicians and men bearing heads of the slain.

29. * Fugitives crossing river to a castle; two warriors on the banks discharging arrows at the swimmers.

30. Warriors in a chariot pursuing a horseman, who is turning back and discharging an arrow.

31. * Colossal figure of the king seated on his throne, holding a cup in one hand; followed by an eunuch bearing his arms.

32. * Part of preceding subject. An eunuch raising a fly-flapper or fan over the cup held by the king, followed by a winged figure with the fir-cone and square utensil.

33. * Part of same subject. An eunuch carrying the king's arms followed by a winged figure. These figures are behind the king.

(These three bas-reliefs are amongst the most beautiful and perfect specimens of sculpture discovered at Nimroud. The slabs are each about 7 feet 8 inches high, and 6 feet 7 inches wide.)

34. * Winged figure carrying a stag.

35. * Similar figure carrying a wild goat or gazelle.

36. Eagle-headed winged figure, entire.

37. Female winged figure carrying a garland.

38. * Man riding on a dromedary, pursued by Assyrian horsemen. (From the centre palace.)

39. * Warriors in a chariot; a wounded lion beneath the horses' feet. (A very beautiful and well-preserved bas-relief.)

40. * Horsemen armed with spears pursuing the enemy. (From the south-west palace.)

41. Warrior wearing helmet with curved crest: his horse wounded and rearing. (Fragment much injured; from the south-west palace.)

42. * Two winged female figures carrying garlands, and standing before the sacred tree.

43. * Two winged figures kneeling before the sacred tree.

44. Two eagle-headed figures, before the sacred tree.

45. The king, followed by his attendants and chariot, receiving his vizir.

46. Chariots passing under castle walls; upon which are women. Part of preceding subject.

47 and 48. Colossal figure of the king, standing, holding a cup in one hand and his bow in the other, followed by two eunuchs bearing his arms.

49. An eunuch raising a fly-flapper or fan. Part of preceding subject.

50. Colossal figure of the king holding two arrows in one hand and a bow in the other, followed by a winged figure with the fir-cone and square utensil.

51. Two colossal figures: one an eunuch, belonging to group on 46 and 47, and the other a winged figure belonging to group on 48.

52. * Eunuchs writing down the amount of spoil of sheep and cattle; women in carts drawn by oxen. (From centre palace.)

53. † Cart with women; castle and two battering-rams. Sequel to preceding subject.

54. † Warrior discharging an arrow from behind a shield held by a second warrior; palm-tree behind. (From centre palace.)

55. A flock of camels; part of spoil. (From centre palace.)

56. * A flock of sheep and goats. Part of preceding subject. (From centre palace.)

57. * † Prisoners, with their arms bound behind, preceded by an eunuch. (From centre palace.)

58. * The king holding a long staff or wand.

59. † The assault of a city; part of a bas-relief. (From centre palace.)

60. * † The head of a figure, with a conical cap made up of bands. (From the south-west palace).

61. † The head of a king.

62. † The head of an eunuch.

63. * Two colossal figures from the procession of tribute-bearers; one brings two monkeys.

64. * † Human head of a winged bull, in relief. (From the centre palace.)

65. * Large bas-relief from the end of the great hall B of the north-west palace, representing two kings standing before the sacred tree, and followed by winged figures. (In five pieces.)

66. † Part of a bas-relief with siege of a castle and figures impaled. (From centre palace.)

67.
68.
69.
70.
71. } † Five small winged figures.

72. Human head of a winged bull, in coarse limestone. (From south-west palace.)

73. * † A head with a garland and three rosettes round the temples. The colours well preserved.

74. * † The obelisk.

75. * Fisherman in a pond. (Kouyunjik.)

76. † Warriors leading horses. (Kouyunjik.)

77. † Archers and slingers. (Kouyunjik.)

78. A stone with figures, sacred emblems, and an inscription. (Kouyunjik.)

79. Sitting figure in basalt. (Kalah Sherghat.)

80. † An inscription with the name of the Khorsabad king. (North-west palace, Nimroud.)

81.
82. } † Two small tablets with standard inscription, from Nimroud.

83. † Inscription. (Kouyunjik.)

84. † Cast of a warrior on horseback.

85. † Cast of two warriors turning back and discharging arrows.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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